

# **EUROSCEPTICISM IN TURKEY**

## **The Discursive Construction of Europe and European Integration**

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by

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## **Declaration of Authorship**

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# CONTENTS

<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Abstract .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Illustrations .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
Tables .....	
Figures .....	
List of Acronyms .....	iv
<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. Theoretical Framework .....</b>	<b>10</b>
2.1 Euroscepticism .....	10
2.1.1 Literature Review .....	10
2.1.2 Origins, Definitions and Types of Euroscepticism.....	12
2.1.3 Explaining Euroscepticism .....	17
2.1.4 Euroscepticism in Turkey .....	20
2.2 Occidentalism: The Constructions and Use of the West .....	37
2.2.1 Origins and Definitions of Occidentalism.....	38
2.2.2 Occidentalism in Turkey: A Dual Meaning of the West .....	42
2.3 Civil Society .....	46
2.3.1 Gramsci`s Approach to Civil Society .....	50
2.3.2 Civil Society in the Turkish EU Accession Process and Gramsci .....	51
2.3.3 Categories of CSOs and Case Selection.....	59
2.4 Towards a Theoretical Framework .....	63
<b>3. Research Design and Methodology .....</b>	<b>67</b>
3.1 Process of Data Collection and Case Selection .....	67
3.2 Process of Data Analysis .....	74
3.2.1 Qualitative Content Analysis .....	75
3.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis .....	75
3.2.3 Research Tradition of the Study .....	81
<b>4. Empirical Analysis .....</b>	<b>83</b>
4.1 Referential/Nomination and Predication Strategies .....	83
4.2 Argumentation Strategies .....	89
4.2.1 Occidentalism: Dual Perceptions of the West and Europe .....	89
4.2.2 Strategic Use of the EU Accession Process and Euroscepticism Through Domestic Lenses .....	114
4.2.3 Eurocynicism: Scepticism and Overconfidence .....	147
4.2.4 The EU as a Neoliberal Project .....	172
<b>5. Classification of the Discourses.....</b>	<b>185</b>

<b>6. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>190</b>
Appendix A: .....	209
Appendix B: .....	210
Appendix C: .....	215
 Bibliography.....	 220

## **ABSTRACT**

This PhD thesis aims to contribute to the discourse of Euroscepticism in Turkish civil society by examining the underlying dynamics of the phenomenon. Although the different conceptualizations, perceptions and evaluation patterns of civil society actors regarding European integration and the European Union (EU) have significant value in Turkey's accession process, little scholarly attention has been paid to this topic. This thesis examines the construction of Eurosceptic discourse in civil society discourse focusing on Turkey's possible EU membership, ongoing political struggles between different political camps in Turkey and general Western discourse. Methodologically, semi-structured qualitative interviews with and surveys of Civil Society Organisation (CSO) leaders and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are applied. The discourses are categorized based on Kopecky and Mudde's (2002) four-fold typology, which divides Euroscepticism into Euroenthusiasts, Eurosceptics, Eurorejectionists and Europragmatists.

The most important objective of this thesis is to analyse the discursive strategies of civil society leaders and the construction of civil-society-based Euroscepticism. This study focuses on five analytical categories based on CDA: referential/nomination strategies, argumentation strategies, predication strategies, as well as perspectivation and mitigation strategies. By drawing on Occidentalism to clarify general Western attitudes and on the Gramscian approach to civil society, this dissertation seeks to explain the underlying reasons for Euroscepticism in Turkish civil society. In other words, the following thesis assesses how CSO leaders' attitudes towards the EU are shaped by these two theoretical frameworks. Occidentalism as a theory provides a cultural and historical framework to understand their attitudes towards the West and reveals the power dimension of attitudes towards Europe. Turkish civil society is analysed using the Gramscian theoretical framework to understand the hegemonic struggles going on in Turkey and their effects on perceptions of the EU and European Integration. The analysis shows that the most important argumentative strategy for Euroscepticism in civil society discourse is the conviction of the misuse of the EU integration process by the ruling AKP party (Justice and Development Party) by anti-AKP groups and Eurocynicism by pro-AKP groups, as a combination of overconfidence and scepticism towards the EU.

**KEYWORDS:** Occidentalism, Euroscepticism, Civil Society, Gramsci, Europe, European Integration, Turkish politics, Discourse analysis

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## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

### Tables:

Table 1: The fourfold model of elite-level Euroscepticism .....	15
Table 2: Categorizations of political parties according to different models .....	28
Table 3: Words describing the image of the EU .....	31
Table 4: Types of CSOs included in the study .....	60
Table 5: Multi-theoretical framework: Preliminary model for analysing Euroscepticism in Turkish civil society .....	63
Table 6: Discursive strategies .....	78
Table 7: Nominations and predications of the EU/Europe in interview texts.....	87
Table 8: Nominations and predications of the West in interview texts .....	88
Table 9: Coding Guidelines (own considerations based on the typology of Kopecky and Mudde (2002))	186
Table 10: Classification of CSOs According to the Fourfold Model.....	188

### Figures:

Figure 1: Support for the EU .....	29
Figure 2: Benefits of EU membership.....	30
Figure 3: Image of the EU .....	30
Figure 4: Trust in the EU.....	33
Figure 5: Occidentalism in Turkish civil society .....	113
Figure 6: Euroscepticism through the lenses of domestic politics .....	147
Figure 7: Eurocynicism .....	171
Figure 8: Left-wing Euroscepticism.....	183

## LIST OF ACYRONMS

<b>ADD</b>	Atatürk Thought Association
<b>AKDER</b>	Women's Rights Organization against Discrimination
<b>AKP</b>	Justice and Development Party
<b>ABF</b>	Alevi-Bektaşî Federation
<b>ANAP</b>	Motherland Party
<b>AVF</b>	Federation of Alevi Foundations
<b>BDP</b>	Peace and Democracy Party
<b>CEECs</b>	Central and Eastern European Countries
<b>CHP</b>	Republican People's Party
<b>CMO</b>	Chamber of Environmental Engineers
<b>CRN</b>	The Collaborative Research Network on Euroscepticism
<b>CDA</b>	Critical Discourse Analysis
<b>CSO</b>	Civil Society Organisation
<b>CSDC</b>	Civil Society Development Centre
<b>ÇYDD</b>	Association for the Support of Modern Life
<b>DFD</b>	Lighthouse Association
<b>DISA</b>	Diyarbakir Institute for Political and Social Research
<b>DISK</b>	Revolutionary Labour Unions Confederation of Turkey
<b>DP</b>	Democrat's Party
<b>EEC</b>	European Economic Community
<b>EC</b>	European Commission
<b>EGITIM-SEN</b>	Education and Science Worker's Union
<b>ETUC</b>	European Trade Union Confederation
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>EUSG</b>	Turkish Secretariat General for EU Affairs
<b>FRA</b>	Federation of Roman Associations
<b>GYV</b>	The Journalists and Writers Foundation
<b>HAK-IS</b>	Confederation of Turkish Righteous Trade Unions
<b>HDV</b>	Hrant Dink Foundation
<b>HSYK</b>	High Commission for the Election of Judges
<b>IBB</b>	Istanbul Bar Association
<b>IGO</b>	Intergovernmental Organisation
<b>IHD</b>	Human Rights Association
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>IMO</b>	Turkish Chamber of Civil Engineers
<b>JC</b>	Jewish Community
<b>KADER</b>	Association for the Support of Women Candidates
<b>KAMER</b>	Women's Center
<b>KAMUSEN</b>	Turkish Public Workers Labour Union
<b>KCK</b>	The Kurdistan Communities Union
<b>KESK</b>	Confederation of Public Workers' Unions
<b>MAZLUM-DER</b>	The Association for Human Rights and Solidarity with the Oppressed
<b>MEMUR-SEN</b>	Confederation of Public Servants Trade Unions
<b>MHP</b>	Nationalist Movement Party
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation



<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organisation
<b>NSC</b>	National Security Council
<b>OZGUR-DER</b>	The Association for Free Thought and Educational Rights
<b>RDF</b>	Roman Associations Federation
<b>SCO</b>	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
<b>SODEV</b>	Social Democracy Foundation
<b>SP</b>	Felicity Party
<b>STGP</b>	Program for the Development of Civil Society
<b>STGM</b>	Civil Society Development Center
<b>TESEV</b>	Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
<b>TESK</b>	Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Craftsmen
<b>TTB</b>	Turkish Medical Association
<b>TBB</b>	Union of Turkish Bar Associations
<b>TIHV</b>	Turkish Human Rights Foundation
<b>TISK</b>	Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations
<b>TOBB</b>	Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodities Exchanges
<b>TÜRK-İS</b>	Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>USA</b>	United States of America

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

Turkey's relationship with the European Union (EU) has a long history that reaches back to their application for associate membership in the European Economic Community (EEC) in July 1959 and the resulting Ankara Agreement in 1963. Accordingly, Turkey has been part of the European integration project from the very beginning of the process. Nevertheless, the process has been fiercely contested and slow, so that Turkey was only recognised by the EU as a candidate country at the Helsinki Summit on 11 December 1999.<sup>1</sup> The recognition of Turkey's candidacy at the Helsinki Summit and the beginning of accession negotiations on 3 October 2005 constitute important turning points for Turkey's relations with the EU. EU membership has become a reality for the Turkish public and elites, and is seen as a means to further national democratisation, modernisation and economic development. These turning points accelerated both the socio-political transformation guided by the Copenhagen Criteria and also created critical attitudes towards the EU and European integration. Accordingly, the accession process has engendered both enthusiasm and criticism by domestic actors both at the state and civil society levels (Öniş 2003, Büyükbay 2010). Questions of loss of sovereignty, cultural and religious differences, past memories as well as the Cyprus and Armenian issues have emerged as important discussion points. The attitudes towards the EU and Europe have ranged in a continuum from happiness, consent, contentment and sober sentiments to rejection, denial and outright hatred. This is not surprising, as the Turkey-EU relationship is a story of up and downs, misunderstandings, prejudices and argumentative fallacies.

The perceived economic success during the AKP (Justice and Development Party) era have, from the party's coming to power in 2002 until today, generated an increasing self-confidence among conservative and Islamic groups and, in consequence, the discourse "Turkey has no further need for the EU" has become more dominant, especially after the European economy fell into its deepest recession since the 1930s. Political and civil society leaders began voicing doubts about the direction in which Europe is moving. The so-called "Turco-scepticism" in Europe among political leaders<sup>2</sup> and the public also created the

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<sup>1</sup> "Turkey is a candidate State destined to join the Union on the basis of the same criteria as applied to the other candidate states." (Helsinki European Council 1999)

<sup>2</sup> The former French President Nicolas Sarkozy and the German Chancellor Angela Merkel questioned Turkey's EU membership and Europeanness on the grounds of geographical, historical, cultural and religious reasons.

impression that the EU would never accept Turkey as a member even if it fulfilled all the necessary criteria. Thus, Euroscepticism has grown, particularly in conservative and Islamist circles, due to a loss of trust in the EU, Turkey's increasingly active role in her geographical neighbourhood and its economic success standing in contrast to the economic crisis in the EU. Furthermore, religious and cultural arguments dominated the discussions about Turkey's possible EU membership on both sides of the process. Statements made by EU leaders along with their unwillingness to speed up the process along with the AKP's tactics have been further complicated by the Cyprus problem, which has almost deadlocked the accession process. One major associated challenge was when the Republic of Cyprus took up the EU presidency in 2012. Turkey has refused to deal with the Cypriot president, and no chapters were opened during the second part of 2012. This slowed down the reform process, despite efforts such as the New Positive Agenda, which was launched in Ankara on 12 May 2012 by European Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy Stefan Füle. However, with Ireland assuming the presidency of the EU in 2013 and the change of leadership in France, positive developments are expected.

After a short introduction to EU-Turkey relations in recent years, I will explain the rationale of the thesis. This study examines the construction of European discourse within Turkish civil society and investigates which argumentation strategies contribute to the construction of Euroscepticism within the context of Turkey's European Integration process. It seeks to broaden the study of Euroscepticism by developing a genuine model for investigation of civil-society-based Euroscepticism. Existing literature on Euroscepticism has almost exclusively focused on examining public opinion and political parties and, as a result, theoretical approaches to understanding opposition to European integration have been strongly influenced by party-based literature. By drawing from the bodies of work on both party-based Euroscepticism, Occidentalism and a critical approach to civil society, this thesis focuses on Euroscepticism found in Turkish civil society.

At this point, it is necessary to discuss the worth of analysing civil-society-based Euroscepticism. First of all, the likelihood of EU-membership serves as a powerful engine for driving democratisation and economic change in candidate countries. Although the EU is a strong external factor that leads to internal political change, domestic political actors should provide the initial impetus for the necessary transformation (Tocci 2005:80). Hence, the enlargement of the research field of Euroscepticism by focusing on civil society is important for several reasons. The White Paper on European Governance (European Commission 2001:14) stresses the importance of civil society and states that it plays an important role in

involving citizens in the achievement of the EU's aims, and also that civil society sees Europe as providing a good arena to transform policy orientations and society.<sup>3</sup> Unlike political parties, CSOs are not beholden to elections and are not responsible for the management of institutional European integration. These relatively independent positions of CSOs provides a greater opportunity to criticise the integration process, to use Europeanisation to further the interests of its membership base and improve its own situation with regard to other CSOs (Yankaya 2009:15). Moreover, the fact that the accession process is currently deadlocked should not mean the end of Turkey's European integration. Turkey is already closely economically, politically and culturally connected with the EU, and a large part of civil society have greatly contributed to the association between the EU and Turkey by pressuring governmental actors to achieve EU norms and engage in projects with the EU. Accordingly, this thesis considers the argumentation of an important group of social scientists that a new social and political distribution of power has taken place due to the implementation of democratic norms and the diversification of political power centres (Ataç et al. 2008). Civil society actors gained more influence in this process and "the state has a legitimacy problem in maintaining its position as the primary context for politics, as a result of the shift towards civil society and culture as new reference points in the language and terms of politics," (Keyman and İcduygu 2003:221). However, not all civil society actors have been supportive of the European Integration Process. For example, in contrast to business associations that triggered the accession process, most labour unions have been critical of European Integration.

Furthermore, developments in Euroscepticism research makes such an investigation necessary. The Collaborative Research Network on Euroscepticism (Euroscepticism CRN) organised a conference entitled "Euroscepticism beyond the party system and into civil society" at Loughborough University on 5 November 2011. This event was convened on the basis of the observation that the EU integration process is no longer one driven by political parties, but the EU is engaged in an increasing dialogue with civil society. The presentations at the event examined how Euroscepticism is framed in civil society and the workshop aimed to refine and challenge the concept of Euroscepticism in considering multiple contestations of European

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<sup>3</sup> Eastern enlargement, with the accession of ten new member states on 1 May 2004, has contributed to the EU's consciousness that citizens should be well-informed about the EU (European Commission 2005). This enhanced communication has been ensured through civil society dialogues between the candidate countries and the EU member states. Based on the experiences with the new ten member states, the European Commission strategy for accession negotiations has been founded on three pillars: supporting the reform process, setting out the framework for accession negotiations and strengthening political and cultural dialogue (European Commission 2005). Thus, enhancing cultural dialogue via civil society is crucial in enabling citizen participation in the accession process and in enhancing knowledge about the EU and the European Integration Process.

integration and in so doing expand the research on Euroscepticism. The following thesis is the first serious attempt to analyse the concept of Euroscepticism in the domain of civil society by utilising a critical approach tailored to the Turkish case. With existing scholarly attention predominantly focused on party politics and public opinion, the question of how Euroscepticism is advanced in civil society discourse appears relatively untouched. Noting that all social actors can help to define the European question (Pasquier and Weisbein 2004:13), this thesis focuses on an analysis of civil society leaders that have so far been ignored.

To sum up, the reason to analyse the Euroscepticism of CSO leaders in the thesis is firstly due to the political and societal transformations that Turkey has undergone in the aftermath of 1980s, as the number of CSOs has increased in different areas and CSOs have become influential in domestic politics. Secondly, in recent times, the hegemonic struggles in the domain of civil society have sharpened and are strongly associated with the EU integration process. In other words, it has become important to investigate the dimensions of civil society leadership perceptions regarding European integration and Europe and then what actually drives these perceptions. Moreover, social science research has developed a strong interest in the study of civil society in recent years, and that relating to Turkey is no exception. The literature on civil society in Turkey assumes that CSOs are *a priori* democratic and liberal. However, this is not always the case. In Turkey, there are a number of prominent CSOs that expound authoritarian discourses and demonstrate a critical attitude towards the EU and European integration (Şimşek 2004). The growing tension between the conservative AKP and the secularist opposition, the CHP, has deep effects on the discourses within civil society. The gradual shift of power from traditional elites to a new segment of society has led to conflictual tension in Turkey. The internal dynamics of European attitudes in Turkey cannot be scrutinised without the important dimension of internal politics. The decision to investigate civil society discourse through the argumentation strategy of the CSO leadership is based on the rationale that a strong leadership is present in contemporary Turkey:

Leadership in political, industrial, and other areas are exhibited as a one-man show, where the leader as the single person has immense power and takes on the role of representing the whole institution (Kabasakal and Bodur 2007:858)

Kabasakal and Bodur (2007:851) maintain that leaders have historically had huge power in Turkish society and are expected to guarantee strong leadership. They also stress that “strong leadership goes hand in hand with the symbolic role of leaders, who are heads of most activities and publicly are the sole representatives of their institutions” (Kabasakal and Bodur 2007:851). Moreover, they characterise Turkey as a country that provides the leader with a large arena of

responsibility and freedom. Accordingly, they determine leadership styles in Turkey and how leadership is conceptualised and enacted in Turkey based on data collected from focus groups and in-depth interviews. The study showed that autocratic leadership is frequently observed in Turkish society with regards to leaders who control important decisions, make those decisions, execute important tasks themselves and may impose their own preferences on the organisations. Secondly, paternalistic leadership, which is similar to autocratic leadership except that in paternalism the leader is like a father and takes care of the followers as a parent would, is often practiced in Turkish society. In a similar vein, Fikret et al. (2001:568) refer to Ronen (1986) who characterises Turkish organisations as having centralised decision making, strong leadership and limited delegation. Trompenaars and Hampden- Turner (1998 cited in Fikret et al. 2001:569) concluded that Turkey has the steepest organisational hierarchy, indicating the high degree of subordination of employees to their leaders. Therefore, this thesis mainly deals with the argumentative strategies of CSOs as defined by the attitudes of their leaders towards the EU. The thesis analyses and evaluates how these actors view and approach the various issues involved in the question of accession. Since civil society leaders<sup>4</sup> play an extremely important role in the national debates on European integration (see Koopmans 2007) and a strong leadership culture is present in Turkey, I will concentrate on their arguments in this thesis.

So far, no studies have investigated how Euroscepticism is constructed as a discursive formation in civil society. Therefore, I have decided to approach the question from a different point of view, focussing on civil society by taking into account developments in Euroscepticism research. Firstly, I explain how Euroscepticism is formed in civil society discourse. Secondly, since the European accession process of Turkey encompasses various issues, I endeavour to show how consistent the arguments of civil society leaders are across the issues. I use a CDA-based analysis to test my hypotheses and focus on the reconstruction of Turkish discourses on European/EU topics. I will assert, as did Diez (1999:4), that discourses determine action more than preconceived interests. By analysing the Turkish debate about European issues, I try to reconstruct the perceptions of Europe held by Turkish civil society leaders. Thus, my approach is different from earlier researchers of Euroscepticism. Like Diez (1999), I believe that it is crucial to include discourse analysis in the canon of approaches in European studies. With a few exceptions, such research is currently missing. Closing that gap would both enlarge the interaction between national level struggles and the European integration process itself. This

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<sup>4</sup> It is largely believed that the EU accession process has been a crucial tool in the democratisation and modernisation of the country. Nevertheless, many civil society leaders question this assertion.

analysis focusses on the political implications of the language being used. Within the language within which all operate, lie traces of the hegemonic struggles of our own day. Hence, I believe that the approach I have employed is ultimately valuable in that it provides a new perspective in Euroscepticism research. Academic attempts to categorise Euroscepticism can create a high discrepancy between what we observe and what really happens because categorisations are mostly more stable than the underlying reality. Therefore, it is not possible to fix the meaning of Euroscepticism. Rather, the main issue is to identify the politics involved in Euroscepticism research. As Diez (1999:12) notes, speaking about ‘Europe’ is always “to participate in a struggle, as much as it practiced from within a discursive context.”

The primary focus of this thesis is on the anticipation of Europe, European Integration and the EU amongst Turkish civil society leaders, the internalisation of constraints imposed, and the discursive construction of the attitudes towards Europe, the EU and European Integration Process. Thus, the research question with which this thesis is concerned is:

- *How is Euroscepticism constructed as a discursive formation among civil society leaders in Turkey?*

In answering the overall research question, the thesis aims to clarify the following points:

- Which discursive fields of Euroscepticism form consensus and dissent? Along which rules, concepts and thematic choices do the discourses communicate?
- What are potential explanations for the Euroscepticism expressed by the leaders of CSOs?

By examining the prevailing perceptual and evaluative patterns prevailing in civil society leaders’ discourse about the EU and European Integration, I seek to elaborate on what Europe means today in the mental images of Turkish civil society, and how it relates to attitudes towards the EU. This dissertation aims to focus on the ways in which Europe and the EU is discursively constructed in the civil society discourse. Accordingly, the following questions remain crucial:

- Is the EU perceived as a Western hegemonic institution that sees Turkey as the “Oriental Other”? Accordingly, does Europe mean colonial power that attempts to control Turkey through institutional means?

- Is Europe a mechanistic, homogeneous entity, a materialistic civilization or a unit that is based on rationality, individual freedoms, democracy and modernity?

The categorisation part of the research question is analysed using the model developed by Kopecky and Mudde (2002) which differentiates attitudes towards the EU and towards the general process of European integration, employing surveys with the CSO leaders. The second part of the research question regarding explanations of Eurosceptic attitudes is studied using Occidentalism and the Gramscian understanding of civil society as theoretical frameworks, which can potentially explain relevant Eurosceptic attitudes within the civil society leadership with a special reference to the context-specific factors, domestic power struggles and the employment of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This dissertation is interested both in broader discursive structures and power struggles as a powerful discursive tool. As a genuine theoretical framework of analysis of Euroscepticism in Turkey is necessary, I apply Occidentalism to the attitudes towards the EU<sup>5</sup> and European Integration. Following Malborg and Strahs' (2002:10) suggestion, the thesis tries to answer how Europeanness is institutionalised in a political and cultural form in Turkish civil society and how Europe<sup>6</sup> functions as a category, a classification or a cognitive frame in civil society discourses and how this is reflected accordingly in the EU integration process. Combining the two approaches – applying CDA for systematic methodology and using Occidentalism and the Gramscian approach to civil society – helps us understand Euroscepticism in Turkish civil society. This thesis accounts for differences and similarities between the discourses in different ideological spheres, identifying how different ideologies filter into different visions of the EU. To this end, it makes use of primary sources (semi-structured in-depth interviews).

Euroscepticism can be explained within a specific political culture based on various underlying concepts, contextual factors, figures and codes. Earlier studies of Euroscepticism focussed, in most cases, on the question from the perspective of public opinion or political parties, and did not elaborate on these popular and political positions in terms of current political

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<sup>5</sup> For example, there may be various representations of the EU having negative emotional components such as feelings of mistrust, doubt, fear, anger and unfairness parallel to negative labels such as homogenising force, wasteful bureaucracy, undemocratic entity and interfering entity, or there can be positive representations of the EU such as an enabler or a promoter of human rights, democracy and modernity.

<sup>6</sup> Europe is regarded as a contested notion, the meaning of which is prone to transform itself and is not fixed. Through the lens of poststructuralism, the EU can be regarded as an imagined community as any other collectivity and accordingly its meaning is constantly being changed and rearticulated (Diez 2001).



dynamics and power struggles. In the following thesis, the examination of the opposition to European integration is performed from a multi-level perspective for three reasons. First and foremost, the meaning of Euroscepticism differs significantly between countries. Although it is always a sign of a form of antagonism towards the EU, this antagonism is not necessarily directed towards the same dimensions of European integration. Secondly, all actors can express Euroscepticism regardless of their ideologies. Thirdly, how actors put forward arguments for their Euroscepticism is very important. Thus, the type of actor and the issue of the context are of crucial importance in understanding Euroscepticism. Moreover, understanding perceptions of Europe requires a wide perspective across time and space. In the temporal dimension, they are influenced by the accession process and countries' historical relationships with Europe. In the spatial dimension, not only national but also global and regional processes influence these perceptions (Keyman and İçduygu 2003). Thus, Euroscepticism is a contested, diverse and multi-faceted concept (Leconte 2010:4-9). Accordingly, there are several forms of Euroscepticism and they closely interact with each other – scepticism towards a specific EU policy or legislation can transform itself into a more principled opposition (Leconte 2010:67). As noted above, Euroscepticism can be viewed from different perspectives. The thesis approaches the topic from a somewhat unusual perspective in the Turkish context. Rather than viewing Euroscepticism as a collection of party attitudes or a public opinion, it will focus on the discursive construction of the term in civil society. In Turkey, the EU has a fundamentally different practical and symbolic significance as a political and cultural phenomenon, which profoundly influences attitudes towards the EU. The perception of the EU is prone to more rapid change in developing European state, because of the rapidly changing nature of the social and economic transition.<sup>7</sup>

The dissertation analyses the dominant discursive construction of Euroscepticism in Turkish civil society with an emphasis on the discussions from the early stages of Turkey's accession negotiations with the EU on 3 October 2005 as a critical juncture in Turkey-EU relations until the present. It is common to determine a timeframe according to crucial historical events, and the beginning of the accession negotiations is a historical turning point in EU-Turkey relations. The selection of the investigation period between 2005 and 2013 is based on the observation that the negotiation framework, which was composed on 3 October 2005 by the

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<sup>7</sup> To illustrate, as Henderson (2004:4) suggests for the post-communist states, opposing attitudes towards the EU-membership are associated with a scepticism to modernisation and post-communist economic reform. Hence, it is more common among the losers of the transformation process.

European Commission, received much criticism from domestic actors has until recently had a huge impact on Euroscepticism. The second reason why I mainly concentrate on the period from 2005 onwards on is the recent stagnation of the accession negotiations, which can be regarded as a consequence of Euro- and Turcoscepticism on both sides of the process. Turkey made important efforts towards fulfilling the Copenhagen political criteria and harmonising legislation with the EU acquis. However, the process of reform has slowed down as the accession process has progressed. By choosing a relatively recent time period, I am able to go into the great depth necessary for a serious qualitative study. To provide ample textual material to analyse the social construction of Euroscepticism, I conducted 30 semi-structured interviews with CSO leaders. I then checked my results with 23 surveys to increase the internal validity of the research.

The structure of this dissertation is as follows. The literature review and theoretical approach are presented in the second chapter. After summing up the state of the research on Euroscepticism in theoretical and case-specific terms, other theoretical foundations, namely Occidentalism and the Gramscian view of civil society, are presented. The literature is investigated in order to formulate a basic set of hypotheses on how they may be understood. The methodology will be laid out in the third chapter, where the research design is presented, the case selection will be justified. The collected data will then be categorised based on Qualitative Content Analysis and survey results and evaluated via elements of the CDA. The empirical part sets out the ways in which Europe and the EU are systematically constructed through the interviews. Hence, the hypotheses are applied to Turkish case. The conclusion brings together the arguments from the preceding chapters, signifies new arguments and places the empirical findings in relation to the broader conceptual debates of Euroscepticism.

## **CHAPTER 2:**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1 Euroscepticism**

##### ***2.1.1 Literature Review***

In existing studies in and of different countries, Euroscepticism is mainly analysed in terms of public opinion<sup>8</sup> (Niedermayer 1995; Eichenberg and Dalton 1993, 2007; Hooghe 2007; Hooghe and Marks 2004) or in terms of party politics (Taggart 1998, Hooghe et al 2004, Kopecky and Mudde 2002, Marks and Wilson 2000, Marks et al. 2002, Ray 1999, Szczerbiak and Taggart 2008a and 2008b). Gifford (2008), Hansen and Waever (2002), Ichijo and Spohn (2005), and Diez Medrano (2003) analysed the link between national identity and collective understandings of Europe. Marks and Steenbergen's book (2004) and research done by Della Porta (2006) focus on social movements and fill a gap in the literature regarding perceptions of the EU within civil society. Chamorel (2006) provides an important contribution to the debate by distinguishing between Euroscepticism and anti-Europeanism by undertaking a case study in the United States.

Another categorisation of the studies can be performed according to their geographical area. There are researchers who analysed attitudes in Western Europe (Carey 2002, McLaren 2002, Eichenberg and Dalton 1993; Gabel 1998a,b) or focused on the CEECs countries using a more comparative perspective (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2004, Kopecky and Mudde 2002, Marks et al. 2006, Herzog and Tucker 2009). Hainsworth et al. (2004) analysed the Euroscepticism of the right of French politics as exemplified by elements of the extreme right, Front National, the Eurosceptic, Mouvement pour La France (founded in 1994 by its leader, Philippe de Villiers) and the broader Gaullist movement. This focused on the issues of extreme nationalism, the long history of nation-state building and imperialism. They conclude that for these right-wing groups, historical positions on the primacy of national unity, national sovereignty and the nation-state may lead to a deep distrust of supranational structures and institutions, and consequently opposition to the EU.<sup>9</sup> Milner (2004) focusses on the attitudes of

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<sup>8</sup> After the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, public opinion research has expanded and researchers have begun paying attention to economic considerations and problems over the public's national identity (Herzog and Tucker 2009). The public opinion surveys mainly focus on the influence of utilitarian factors in economic sense and on cultural or identity issues.

<sup>9</sup> Turkey can quite be seen as similar to the French case in terms of the focus of Kemalist rhetoric on the primacy of the nation-state and national unity. A certain meaning of Euroscepticism is associated with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as the leader of Turkish nation parallel to as in the association of the French Euroscepticism with another important leader in twentieth century politics: Charles de Gaulle.

the main left-wing French groups to European Integration since the early 1990s. She founds that Euroscepticism is rooted in a lack of confidence in political elites, lack of democratic participation among citizens in decision-making at the EU-level and the spread of neoliberal policies and thus concludes that left-wing Euroscepticism in France can be labelled as soft rather than hard Euroscepticism according to the Taggart and Szczerbiak's (2002) definition, meaning scepticism towards specific policy areas rather than principled opposition to European integration.

In Turkey, studies focusing on 'Europe' can be categorised into three groups. The studies that consider 'Europe' as a fixed concept ("Europe-as-fixity"), those that consider 'Europe' exclusively as a construct ("Europe-as-construct") and studies that consider 'Europe' as a contestation ("Europe-as-contestation") (Alpan 2010). The argumentation of this dissertation can be placed on the border between the second and third group of studies. Most of the recent literature on Turkey-EU relations represents the first group and mainly involves two different approaches (see Monceau 2009: 99). The first is a historical approach, offering a chronology of Turkey-EU relations from the 1963 Association Agreement to the official start of accession negotiations with the EU in 2005. The second is an institutional approach, examining the political and economic dynamics of Turkey's European integration. These approaches emphasise the difficulties and challenges that Turkey has faced in the course of European integration, the EU's expectation and Turkey's achievements in realising the Copenhagen criteria and the impact of reforms on its political, economic and legal system. Nevertheless, examining the attitudes of the Turkish elite and public towards European integration will become a more important issue because of increasing Euroscepticism in Turkey.<sup>10</sup> Analyses regarding the attitudes of domestic actors on Turkey's relations with the EU includes the roles of members of the Turkish Parliament (McLaren and Müftüler-Bac 2003), military (Cizre 2004), political parties (Güneş-Ayata 2003, Avcı 2004, Gülmez 2008, Öniş 2007, Büyükbay 2010 and 2011), public opinion (Çarkoğlu 2003, Yılmaz 2003, Kentmen 2008), business associations (Atan 2004, Yankaya 2009, Eylemer and Taş 2007) and the trade unions (Yıldırım et al. 2008). Başak Taraktaş (2008) attempted to identify patterns of popular and party-based Euroscepticism in the CEECs and Turkey before 2002, and hypothesises that the particularity of the Turkish context is based the nature of the opposition to Turkish accession in Europe and the uncertain

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<sup>10</sup> In Turkey, public support for EU accession has been declining significantly since 2004. Eurobarometer surveys indicate a decline in levels of support for EU accession in Turkey from 71% to 40% between 2004 and 2010 (CCEB 2010).

nature of the accession process. Başak Alpan (2010) examines the contested nature of the concept of 'Europe' by using the Laclau-Mouffean discourse analysis and concentrates on how discourses on 'Europe' contribute to a process of constructing political frontiers in Turkey. Hakan Yılmaz (2002, 2003) extensively studied public opinion towards the EU.

However, some of these analyses on Turkey lack the theoretical and methodological tools to examine the attitudes of the actors in question toward the EU and European integration. My previous study analysed and compared the Euroscepticism of the two major Turkish political parties – which are sceptical to the European Integration project either in principle or in its present form and face ideological, institutional and strategic challenges as a result – utilising party documents and speeches made by important party figures from 2004 to 2007 (see Büyükbay 2011). The study provides important insights into the political discourse about Europe taking place in Turkey within the period of inquiry. After the in-depth investigation of party-based Euroscepticism in Turkey, I decided to enlarge the research field and focus on CSOs. Other works on EU-Turkish relations have focussed on the political discussion of Turkish EU membership in certain EU member states. Tocci (2005) presents different views on the Turkish accession within the member states, while Tekin (2008) analyses the French discourse on Turkish accession and shows the argumentative strategies through which Turkey is seen as “the Other” in Europe.

Discourse analysis is valuable in demonstrating the discursive strategies utilised by internal actors in dealing with the different visions of Europe in which these discourses play a constitutive role. This thesis examines an aspect that has remained largely neglected in the literature on European integration, namely civil-society based Euroscepticism via a critical perspective. The literature on Euroscepticism includes very few approaches that seek to understand actors beyond public opinion and political parties, with a few notable exceptions (Fitzgibbon 2013). In a recent article, Fitzgibbon seeks to enlarge the study of Euroscepticism to embrace civil society and tries to develop a framework of analysis in taking social movement literature into account.

### ***2.1.2 Origins, Definitions and Types of Euroscepticism***

The term Euroscepticism (a combination of the terms 'Euro', meaning the European Union, and 'sceptic', meaning doubtful), emerged in the British political and journalistic context in the mid-1980s and has been characterised as “further contributing to a sense of the country's 'awkwardness' or 'otherness' in relation to a Continental European project of political and economic integration” (Harmsen and Spiering 2004:13). As a British concept,

Euroscepticism was mainly interpreted as a phenomenon that opposes the Europeanisation of legislation and politics. In the domain of journalistic epistemology, it was first used in a 1985 article in *The Times*, in which it was used to refer to the ‘anti-marketers’ who were opposed to Britain joining the Common Market. It became popularised thanks to Margaret Thatcher’s Bruges Speech at the College of Europe in 1988, in which she outlined an alternate vision for Europe and Britain (Leconte 2010:3).<sup>11</sup> Thatcher warned against the centralisation of political structures in the European Community and the concentration of power in Brussels, claiming that was an intent to diminish national identity. Furthermore, in the British context, the term was used to denounce anti-integrationist positions taken by members of the Labour and Conservative parties, and more broadly in emphasising the uniqueness of Britain vis-à-vis Continental Europe. In this case, doubts about EU institutions are considered to be a sign of Euroscepticism. British Euroscepticism has a radical (or, in Taggart and Szczepiński’s terms, harder) meaning, although Euroscepticism can refer to all opinions critical of the EU in a harder or softer manner (Spiering 2004:130).

While early use of the term was limited to describing a specific British phenomenon, Euroscepticism spread to continental Europe in the early 1990s as part of the debate over the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty as an all-encompassing term mainly implying opposition to the EU. Accordingly, due to this as well as to the repercussions of Eastern enlargement, Euroscepticism became a general phenomenon throughout Europe and a variety of approaches to Euroscepticism have been developed by continental European scholars. The definitions range from outright rejection of European integration to soft reformist criticisms. As a political discourse, the rejection of the value of European integration primarily relied on identity claims based hostility to “otherness” (a polarisation between “us and them”). Moreover, harder versions of Euroscepticism suppose that cultural distinctiveness, national identity and integrity<sup>12</sup>, and political sovereignty are distorted by the Europeanisation process, largely neglecting its economic and social benefits. To sum up, in the literature, Euroscepticism may denote a reaction against the current polity, to the EU’s increasing competencies and supranational powers, to its widening and deepening processes or, alternatively, it can manifest itself as a fundamental opposition to European integration. The following excerpt aptly explains the penetration of the EU into the national context and its implications:

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<sup>11</sup> Euroscepticism was originally elite-driven. Two important landmarks in the history of the term are the Empty Chair Crisis of the 1960s by De Gaulle and Margaret Thatcher’s Bruges Speech at the College of Europe.

<sup>12</sup> Euroscepticism has high tendency to be driven primarily by nationalist considerations. In its EU-related discourse, many actors use the language of nationalism and patriotism.

The emergence of a hegemonic great power or a new regional project poses a challenge to any nation state. At elite as well as popular levels a perceived genuineness, an established representation of the past, has to be reconciled with a new regional identity and culture...It might 'activate' dimensions of the nation's history that support or contradict the established self-understanding. (Malmborg and Strath 2002:13)

At this point, it should be noted that the adaptation of the term Euroscepticism necessitates in the context of different countries an analysis of national political traditions and the history of European integration for that particular country (Harmsen and Spiering 2004). Hence, in order to describe the dynamics of Euroscepticism, it is important to understand its context, discursive elements as well as its cultural, ideological and historical specifics.

The concept of Euroscepticism was introduced by Taggart (1998:366) into the scholarly context and defined as follows: "The idea of contingent or qualified opposition, as well as incorporating outright and unqualified opposition to the process of European integration." A broad definition that includes various positions was later developed and refined by Szczerbiak and Taggart, introducing the conceptualisation of Euroscepticism into hard and soft categories. Taggart and Szczerbiak (2004:3) defined hard Euroscepticism as an "outright rejection of the entire project of European political and economic integration and opposition to one's country joining or remaining a member of the EU." On the other hand, soft Euroscepticism is defined as: "where there is not a principled objection to European integration or EU membership but where concerns on one (or a number) of policy areas leads to the expression of qualified opposition to the EU, or where there is a sense that 'national interest' is currently at odds with the EU's trajectory" (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2004:6). Accordingly, Taggart and Szczerbiak's two-dimensional conceptual mapping of Euroscepticism enables us to differentiate between hard and soft manifestations of Euroscepticism. Soft Eurosceptic actors are opposed to particular aspects of the EU project and stand against complete withdrawal from the EU, whereas hard Eurosceptic actors mainly support decision making on the level of the nation-state and the weakening of the powers of the EU's political and administrative institutions. Ravný (2004) advocated analysing different degrees of soft and hard Euroscepticism by placing it on a continuum, and to think the magnitude of Euroscepticism in ordinal terms. Accordingly, he pays special attention to the differing degrees of soft and hard Euroscepticism on the basis of the number and relevance of EU policies that an actor opposes as well as the vehemence of the anti-EU rhetoric. By understanding Euroscepticism as opposition to the European integration project or to some of its aspects, he further differentiates between different degrees of strategically-driven and ideologically-driven Euroscepticism.

The following project understands Euroscepticism as defined by Kopecky and Mudde (Kopecky and Mudde 2002). Returning to the original concept of Taggart (1998), who emphasises attitudes towards European integration, Kopecky and Mudde created a two-stage differentiation. To differentiate between the various forms of Euroscepticism, they rely on David Easton's ground-breaking differentiation of forms of support for political regimes and distinguish between diffuse and specific support for European integration. Diffuse support means support for the basic ideas of European integration. Specific support implies the practice of European integration. This refers to the current state of the EU. Accordingly, Kopecky and Mudde proposed a new typology. As illustrated in Table 1, Euroscepticism consists of two dimensions (Kopecky and Mudde 2002). First, the ideological dimension that encompasses support for European integration. This is categorized as "Europhiles" and "Europhobes". Europhiles accept the principle idea of European integration while the Europhobes reject the basic idea of European integration. Secondly, the strategic dimension that deals with the acceptance of the EU being divided into EU-Optimists, who accept the EU as an institution and support the functioning of the EU, and the EU-Pessimists, who do not support the EU's current form and operation or even confront it critically. These two dimensions lead to a fourfold typology of actors according to their stance on European issues.

**Table 1: Fourfold model of elite-level Euroscepticism** (Kopecky and Mudde 2002)

		Support for the idea of European Integration	
		<i>Europhile</i>	<i>Europhobe</i>
Support for the EU	<i>EU-Optimist</i>	EUROENTHUSIASTS	EUROPRACTICISTS
	<i>EU-Pessimist</i>	EUROSCEPTICS	EUROREJECTS



The framework of Euroscepticism to which CSOs can be placed remains a critical question. Taggart and Szczerbiak's (2002) hard/soft Euroscepticism model is not appropriate for the Turkish case, because the application of this model would neglect many forms of Eurosceptic discourse prevailing in Turkish civil society. The following logic "if a CSO rejects being a member of the EU then it can be labelled as supporting hard Euroscepticism; if it puts forward a critique of a specific EU policy then it exhibits soft Euroscepticism" would largely oversimplify the matter under consideration and diminish its discursive depth, as it is important to examine for interpreting the ideology behind Euroscepticism and the CSOs' positions toward how European integration should progress or be reformed. The Kopecky and Mudde's (2002) typology is appropriate for an in-depth analysis of the discourses in Turkey. The advantage of this approach for my dissertation is that it places the analysis of Euroscepticism into two analytical dimensions, contributing towards identifying the fundamental differences between actors that are only critical of the EU and those that oppose the ideas underlying the general process of European integration (see Kopecky and Mudde 2002:318).<sup>13</sup>

However, it is debateable whether the analytical tools of Euroscepticism can be applied to investigation of its presence in CSOs. The works of scholars (Della Porta and Caiani 2009; Kohler-Koch 2010) on European civil society see differences between party-based and civil-society-based opposition to the EU, and therefore suggest that other analysis methods should be employed in these studies (Fitzgibbon 2013:108). They focus mainly on the deliberative potential of civil society and their reflections on opposition to the EU. For example, Della Porta and Caiani (2009:175) argue that the opposition of CSOs to the EU is based on their will to affect policy changes and to create "another Europe." Fitzgibbon (2013:108) argues that civil-society-based contestations of the EU are part "of a wider European deliberative process in which CSOs challenge existing EU policies and put forward their own alternatives. Such contestation is important for the future of European integration as it allows for the representation of citizen interests directly at European level." However, as European civil society and Turkish civil society have inherently different characteristics in terms of their basic

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<sup>13</sup> Prof Dr Cas Mudde, who developed the model utilised in this thesis with Prof Dr Petr Kopecky, emphasised via an e-mail dialogue that it would be appropriate to conduct a discourse analysis in order to examine Euroscepticism in Turkish civil society. Petr Kopecky pointed out in another e-mail dialogue that the research topic is well chosen, and that he has developed his classification particularly for the analysis of elite attitudes. He emphasised: "Civil society will easily fit into the elite attitude category, unless you want to make some mass survey of civil society members. Therefore, the model is quite good for the analytical purposes of the study."

tenets, and Turkish civil society is not deliberative and does not yet have the potential to effect government policies like their European counterparts, these considerations hardly correspond to Turkish civil society. The specific role that CSOs play in European integration cannot be observed in the current status of the civil society development in Turkey, as will be explained later in this study.

### ***2.1.3 Explaining Euroscepticism***

Researchers working on party-based Euroscepticism have mostly considered ideological and strategic factors in explaining party support for the EU. The literature generally identifies ideological-programmatic and strategic-tactical factors. Many researchers (Taggart 1998, Taggart and Szczerbiak 2004, Sitter 2002) argue that Euroscepticism can be explained primarily with strategic factors that are dependent on the position of the political parties in the party system. The degree of Euroscepticism expressed depends on whether the party is located at the centre or on the periphery of the political spectrum and whether it is in government or opposition. This influential group sees party-based Euroscepticism as a matter of strategic positioning, connecting it with the so-called “politics of opposition”. This view considers political parties as “organisations that seek to propel candidates to elected office in pursuit of policy goals” (Sitter 2002:5). The emphasis here is on the “quest for office”, which is the main goal of any political party (see also Büyükbay 2011c). On the other hand, there are researchers that explain party positions through ideological-programmatic factors. Marks et al. (2002) assume that the main causes for parties’ Eurosceptic attitudes can be found in historical cleavages that have led, according to Lipset and Rokkan (1967), to the ideological party families: social democratic, liberal, conservative or Christian democratic. As noted earlier in this study, Kopecky and Mudde (2002:320) also emphasise the impact of ideology on parties’ positions on the issue of the EU. They concluded that ideology determines, in principle, attitudes towards European integration whereas strategy affects the support for the current EU programmes. In a more recent work, Leconte (2010:43-67) differentiates four different types of approaches explaining Euroscepticism in general, which need to be explained briefly for the purposes of this study.

#### ***Utilitarian Euroscepticism***

Utilitarian Euroscepticism denotes scepticism towards the perceived gains of EU membership at a country or individual level. In the literature, the utilitarian approach is regarded as quite influential in shaping support for European integration (Eichenberg and Dalton 1993,

2007). For example, Mathew Gabel (1995; 1998b) argues that Euroscepticism can be best explained by individuals' social-economic position and on their gains and losses from European integration. In a parallel argument, Hix (2005:151) stresses that the process of European integration has led to "a centre-periphery conflict between groups whose interests are threatened by economic and political integration and those whose interests are promoted by integration." Gabel and Palmer (1995) found that higher socio-economic status leads to positive evaluations of EU membership. Hence, disadvantaged social groups will be more likely to oppose EU accession. Moreover, at the individual level, the affinity for Euroscepticism depends on the perceived costs and benefits of being a member of the EU. An influential group of researchers discovered that the greater the status of the individual (in terms of age, professional status, income, education), the more they perceived the potential benefits (job openings, better working conditions, higher wages) from European Integration and the smaller the occurrence of Eurosceptic attitudes (Szczerbiak 2001; McLaren 2002; Tucker et al. 2002, Venables 2003).

Utilitarian Euroscepticism can be divided into two different models. The first model maintains that individual support for European integration depends on perceived (Gabel and Whitten 1997) or objective national economic performance (Eichenberg and Dalton 1993). They assume that the increasing role of the EU in the governance of the national economies leads to the fact that individuals believe in the influence of the EU. Accordingly, individuals assess the EU on the basis of its economic benefits (Kentmen 2008). The second model considers human capital as the explanatory factor for perceptions on integration (Anderson and Reichert 1996). However, it is differentiated; more highly-skilled workers tend to be more supportive than lower-skilled workers about the gains from integration (Venables 2003). Gabel (1998) determined that executives and professionals tend to be more likely to be supportive of European integration than other workers. To conclude, the utilitarian approach interprets Euroscepticism depending on cost-benefit analysis in a pragmatic manner.

### ***Political Euroscepticism***

Political Euroscepticism refers to the scepticism towards the effect of European integration on national sovereignty, and scepticism about the delegation of power to a supranational institution (towards the principle of pooling sovereignty). Domestic politics is another important source of political Euroscepticism. Attitudes towards the EU are strongly correlated with internal political factors. It has been determined that people in older EU member states who are pleased with their government are more positive towards EU integration than those who are not pleased with their current government (Ehin 2001, Franklin et al. 1995).

### ***Cultural Euroscepticism (Cultural anti-Europeanism)***

Cultural Euroscepticism refers to the broader hostility towards Europe as a civilization and its underlying values. Here, Europe is seen as a homogenous entity not compatible with indigenous values. In this type of Euroscepticism, the belief that European integration can lead to moral, political and cultural degeneration may be held. In its extreme forms, it can include ethnocentrism, even xenophobia. Within this view, multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism are viewed as a threat to the national culture. Cultural Euroscepticism thus comprises the problem of national identity (Büyükbay and Merdzanovic 2012). As the research on nationalism has argued (Hroch 2005:20), a 'nation' can be characterised as a specific set of bonds and relationships between a certain group of individuals based on specific common elements such as language, territory, history, political association or economy. National identity relies on such proto-national bonds (Hobsbawm 1990:77) and can therefore be seen as a socio-cultural construct that expresses itself in a political way. With regards to Euroscepticism, according to some surveys, political and cultural level factors are more important than rational calculations. One approach focusing on national identity argues that strong identification with the nation leads to Euroscepticism due to the fear of loss of national identity (Kritzinger 2003; McLaren 2002, 2006; Carey 2002). Hooghe and Marks' (2005) approach adds to the dimension of the strength of national identity and considers degrees of inclusiveness and exclusiveness. They claim that exclusive national identity is more likely to lead to Euroscepticism, while inclusive national identity will generate a favourable attitude toward the EU.<sup>14</sup>

### ***Value-based Euroscepticism***

Value-based Euroscepticism (Madeley and Sitter 2005:13) refers to scepticism towards the EU's demands on normative issues such as abortion or minority rights. A good example of

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<sup>14</sup> Vetik (2003) also focussed on identity issues and has argued that Estonians oppose membership in the EU because they see it a major threat to national identity, although they agree with the economic advantages and increasing security through joining the EU. He pointed out the effects of elite-level discourse regarding the EU on the public-level Euroscepticism. Accordingly, the way in which the EU has been constructed in the elites' discourse has increased Euroscepticism among the general public. Hansen and Waever (2002) argued that although most Estonians agree that they will gain economically through EU membership and security will be enhanced, they still oppose joining the EU because of their perception of it as a major threat to national identity.<sup>14</sup> In his more recent research, Vetik et al. (2006:1086) argued that political elites' discourses stressing domestic backwardness versus EU modernity might lead to a reactive stand against the EU. Reactive identities emerge "in situations of imbalance between the processes of differentiation from and identification with the 'Other'" (Vetik et al. 2006:1085). In this regard, Euroscepticism is linked to reactive identity formation within European integration. Vetik et al. (2006) focus on the concept of reactive identity as the main explanatory variable explaining public Euroscepticism in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE).

this is the post-materialist theory developed by Ronald Inglehart in the late 1970s, distinguishing between two value systems: materialism and post-materialism. Inglehart argues that post-materialists tend to be more supportive of European integration than materialists, favouring the cosmopolitan identity that is associated with support for European integration (Inglehart 1977). This type of Euroscepticism focusses on the role played by social norms and values in the formation of political attitudes so that rational explanations on the basis of utilitarian considerations are not taken into account (Hix 1999).

Some of the different approaches outlined above have been adapted to analyse civil-society-based Euroscepticism, as I will show below. The literature suggests that CSOs tend to evaluate the EU more negatively than political elites and state actors (Koopmans 2007: 203). Based on utilitarian theories, these studies explain this comparatively negative attitude towards the EU is mainly due to the fact that CSOs have relatively limited impact on decision-making processes. This argument is in line with the intergovernmental theories stating that European integration increases the power of the executive at the expense of CSOs (Moravcsik 1993: 507). However, the impact of European integration on different CSOs should be differentiated: some are empowered and others weakened through the integration process (Marks and McAdam 1996:258 cited in Leconte 2010: 221).

#### ***2.1.4 Euroscepticism in Turkey***

In this section, I will scrutinise the party-based Euroscepticism and public Euroscepticism in Turkey on the basis of the previous research done within this framework. There are major disagreements in the Turkish party system regarding the fundamental issues of European integration.<sup>15</sup> In recent years, we have seen the emergence of a markedly more critical rhetoric in Turkey toward European integration. The different positions are discussed below.

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<sup>15</sup> It is argued that the 1999 Helsinki Summit contributed to a realignment of the Turkish party system. The Turkish party system is divided by a new line of conflict: In addition to the classical right-left cleavage, the parties differ further by pro-European or Eurosceptic positions (Öniş 2003:16).

### ***Party-Based Euroscepticism in Turkey***

In his article on party-based Euroscepticism in Turkey, Yılmaz (2006a: 217) differentiated on the party level between identity Euroscepticism, which emphasizes on abstract and symbolic issues and especially regarding the problem of national identity, and political Euroscepticism, which in turn emphasizes pragmatic and politically-oriented problems. Yılmaz (2006b:17-20) argues that, in Turkey, both the typical Western European political Euroscepticism and the Eastern European identity-based Euroscepticism are prevalent. Identity-based Euroscepticism is more widespread and is represented by the radical right-wing and left-wing parties, and political Euroscepticism is observed more among the centre-right and centre-left parties. In a more recent article, Yılmaz (2011) argues that in Turkey, both soft Euroscepticism (of central-left parties) and hard Euroscepticism (of nationalist and Islamic parties) are present. Moreover, he confirms Taggart's thesis that the Turkish opposition parties, with the exception of the Kurdish party, tend toward Euroscepticism, indicated that "the parties representing ethnic minorities tend to be more supportive of the European cause, because they believe that minority rights will be best served in an EU context" (Yılmaz 2011:198).

It is necessary to outline the attitudes of the main political parties in Turkey towards the EU and European Integration. According to Yılmaz, after the 2007 elections, the Muslim-conservative AKP and the Kurdish nationalist DTP (later BDP) were the only parties that were pro-EU. Contrary to their Islamic roots, the AKP was regarded as pro-European in the first years of its government. However, over the last years, the general feeling is that the AKP is less inclined to Europeanisation and has shifted to the so-called soft Euro-Asianism (Öniş and Yılmaz 2009). Avcı (2011) describes the AKP's approach towards the EU as pragmatic. She argues that shifts in domestic and European politics have weakened its reforming will after 2004:

Developments such as the Cyprus issue since 2004, increasing political violence and polarisation in Turkey and declining political and public support in the EU and Turkey have been particularly critical in undermining cooperation on EU reform and making the costs of political reform very high for the AKP. (Avcı 2011:412)

In the case of Turkish party system, the most pragmatic party that has elements of utilitarian Euroscepticism is the centre-right Islamic Justice and Development Party (AKP), which defines itself as a party of conservative democrats and which appears to approach the accession process in a more instrumental and pragmatic way than other parties (Büyükbay 2012d). After it came to the power in 2002, the party implemented a pro-EU political and economic reform agenda. Eight EU harmonisation legislation packages were passed by the legislature. As Yılmaz (2011:193) stresses, the AKP's support for the EU started as a tactic to hinder repression by the

established Kemalist elites and afterwards it became a strategic tool in order to separate themselves from their earlier roots in political Islam, represented by the ideology of Necmettin Erbakan and the Milli Görüş [National Outlook]. Moreover, it aimed to transform the rules and regulations to enhance religious rights and freedoms as a measure against the secularist establishment (Keyman and Öniş 2004:184). However, nowadays, there is a debate about whether the AKP government poses a serious threat to Turkey's traditional pro-European stance with its foreign policy shifts.<sup>16</sup> In the party programme, only the following paragraph is dedicated to the EU-Turkey relationship:

Turkey has been in close relation with Europe both geographically and historically. For this reason, relations with European nations shall continue to be at the top of the list in Turkey's foreign policy agenda. Turkey shall rapidly fulfil its promises in its relations with the European Union and the conditions, which the union demands of other candidate nations as well. Thus, it shall prevent the occupation of the agenda with artificial problems. (AKP 2011)

Initially, the AKP supported European integration by considering it the top priority of Turkish foreign policy. Its politicians, for example the then-Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül, warned that disappointment about the slowing down of the accession process could cause Turkey to drift away from the West and the EU (Transatlantic Trend Survey 2006:17). Moreover, the AKP supported the Annan Plan to solve the Cyprus issue, showing its determination to become a member of the EU, and also enhanced Kurdish rights in line with the Copenhagen criteria. Prime Minister Erdoğan and the Minister for EU Affairs Egemen Bağış have continuously stated the commitment of the AKP to the goal of EU membership. However, as Bardakci (2007) mentions, rising Euroscepticism among the Turkish public due to the Cyprus issue and "Turco-scepticism" in Germany and France was very high in 2006 and the party reacted by slowing down the reform process. This led to an important change in the AKP's position. "At the end of the day, as the AKP's electoral fortunes rely on the support of the people, the AKP has quietly shelved the EU issue and has committed its attention to domestic challenges" (Bardakçı 2007:32). As there is a meaningful parallel between the rise of public Euroscepticism in 2006 following the worsening conditions in the political context and the slowing down of the processes of reform, an important group of social scientists argued that an utilitarian

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<sup>16</sup> Sinan Ülgen (2009) maintains that the changing focus of Turkish foreign policy on Middle East has the potential to increase its status in the eyes of European Union. On the other hand, Ayhan Kaya (2009) agrees with Ülgen that Turkey's way to the EU is very much dependent on its relations with the Middle East and adds two important points: The good relations with Middle East should not harm its relations with the EU. Turkey should be directed towards the EU. Moreover, he sees in AKP's recent Euroscepticism the electoral attractiveness of the issue.

Euroscepticism regarding to domestic politics by the AKP is prevalent. Many social scientists argue in a similar vein that political expediency is one of the factors playing a key role in the vocal expression of Euroscepticism by the AKP (Bardakci 2007, Kaya 2009). Following the general trend of being considered a pragmatic party, they have viewed the change in AKP's position towards Europe partly as an indicator of utilitarian Euroscepticism, not connected to gains or losses in the course of the accession process *per se*, but to the losses that could result from a policy that is not in line with public opinion and, mainly, its principal domestic goals. Hence, the AKP utilises the EU accession process as the most appropriate way of national conflict avoidance, staying in power and pursuing its domestic political agenda (Doğan 2005:423, Yavuz 2006:8). In this sense, the party clearly reacted to the changes observed in the polls. Accordingly, it can be concluded that in Turkey, the AKP is the only party that apparently expresses utilitarian Euroscepticism, engaging in a two-level game in order to appease the general public and utilise public disappointment as a strategic vote-gaining measure and, most importantly, to pursue its domestic agenda via the EU accession process (Avcı 2011:410).

Nevertheless, some of party leader Erdoğan's statements can be interpreted as proof of cultural Euroscepticism, such as: "We did not adapt the science or art of the West. Unfortunately, we have adapted immorality of the West that is contrary to our values" (Radikal 2008). Keeping in line with the AKP's Islamic roots, the West is regarded as a monolithic entity in this statement. At the same time, the AKP has put some effort into establishing a dialogue between the civilizations, as can be observed in the initiative proposed by Erdoğan and the Prime Minister of Spain, Zapatero, at the 59<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the United Nations in 2005. Erdoğan accordingly considers Turkey to be a model for combatting the dichotomy between Islam and the West. This effort is an important sign that constitutes a counter-argument to the AKP's cultural Euroscepticism. One of the main context-factors is the length of the accession process, which has led to disappointment and a shift in popular sentiment towards the accession process. As Erdoğan stated:

Over a period of about 50 years, 27 countries in the EU play around with Turkey. (...) We have been showing patience for 50 years, and still are patient. Some EU member states test our patience. Let's see how far it goes. I tell them: if you really do not want Turkey, declare it openly. There is an end of our patience. (Yeni Şafak 2011)

Another aspect specific to Turkey's popular and party-based Euroscepticism is the sense of being treated differently during the accession process. Erdoğan criticised the Turkey-specific term 'privileged partnership', as well as the fact a major campaign issue during the last Presidential elections in France was opposition to Turkey's EU membership. According to him, the privileged partnership issue is not included in the *acquis communautaire*, and therefore



signifies a change the rules to the game after it has already begun. Seen as political decisions, the inclusion of South Cyprus into the EU and Turkey's non-inclusion in the Schengen area have also provoked criticism from the prime minister (ABHaber 2010). Additionally, Erdoğan explained that the level of trust is dependent on statements made by European leaders and stated that he was disturbed by discussions of whether Turkey belongs to Europe, expecting Europe to be honest and open in this respect (Sabah 2010). This non-separable nexus of perceived cultural rejection, special treatment, as well as long and exhausting negotiations is specific to Turkey's accession process, indicating that context-specific factors increased the AKP's Euroscepticism.

At this point, it should be explained why the Republican People's Party (CHP), the largest opposition party, has been regarded as Eurosceptic by Turkish social scientists. Although the CHP has historically been pro-Western and pro-EU, and also played key roles in Turkey's Westernisation and Turkey-EU relations, its EU policy has been influenced by two main factors: the AKP's EU policy and the attitude of the EU towards Turkey (Gülmez 2008). A research survey of 102 CHP deputies reveals that the majority of CHP deputies are optimistic about Turkey's EU membership, although they seem to be disturbed by the AKP's EU policy and the EU's attitude towards Turkey. The study shows a belief in unequal treatment by the EU and distrust in the AKP ruling party both play a major role in Euroscepticism in the CHP. The same results are reinforced by another study on Euroscepticism in the two main opposition parties, the CHP and MHP (Büyükbay 2010, 2011a,b,c). According to Taggart and Szczerbiak's mode, the CHP demonstrates soft Euroscepticism, as they condemn unequal treatment by the EU as well as the uneven negotiation process. The government has used the process of integration to instrumentally liberalise the principle of secularism and expand the religious way of life over Turkey. In a similar vein, Celep (2011:423) argues that the transformations in the CHP's EU discourse does not denote a change in ideology, but rather is "an outcome of its distrust of the Justice and Development Party government's honesty and ability in implementing the required reforms for Turkey's EU membership." Elements of this can be found within the CHP, although it generally supports European integration and full EU membership (CHP 2011). While understanding EU accession as the natural historical and cultural continuation of Turkey's modernisation as started by Atatürk (CHP 2011) and supporting the acceleration and completion of the reform process, the CHP emphasises that the EU should evaluate Turkey using the same criteria as for other candidate countries. It does not accept that Turkey is given a status different from other candidate countries, as the country is seen as ready to accept all the conditions necessary for membership that is applied to other

candidates, including the Copenhagen and Maastricht criteria and the adoption of the EU acquis. Furthermore, the party does not accept any form of “special partnership”. In the party programme, special attention is given to EU countries that reject Turkish membership for geographical and cultural reasons. The public speeches of the presidents of these countries have led to harsh protests from CHP officials and, in the party programme, the party promises to “revise our pledges in accordance with the benefits of our country and [to] adopt measures with determination” (CHP 2011). The open nature of the accession negotiations is another important issue that the CHP meets with criticism. It demands a precise target date for Turkey’s full EU membership. In the party programme, European integration is explicitly supported, but it is also stressed that the current state of the EU does not reflect the fundamental values of European integration (Büyükbay 2011c).

The CHP’s position regarding the Cyprus issue is the clearest expression of context-based Euroscepticism. The party opposes attempts to arbitrarily force conditions on Turkey that are in opposition to the Lausanne Peace Treaty (CHP 2011), cannot accept that EU membership is associated with Cyprus and also that the continuation and result of the membership process depends on unilateral compromise actions from Turkey. The party supports a solution on the condition that the rights of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus are considered and also that convergence is realised on the basis of the equality on both sides. Within this framework, it supports peace talks according to the principles of equality and mutual respect. While showing general openness to a solution, the CHP has a concrete vision on what the result to the Cyprus issue should look like, thus making compromise more difficult. Strictly speaking, there are no forms of utilitarian, cultural and political Euroscepticism in the CHP party programme. As Gülmez (2008) notes, the majority of CHP deputies are optimistic about Turkey’s EU membership, although they seem to be disturbed by the AKP’s EU policy and the attitude of the EU towards Turkey. There is no sign that the transfer of sovereignty to EU institutions would be rejected or any underlying critique against Western values is present. It can thus be argued that CHP’s Euroscepticism depends, to a large extent, on specific conditions of the Copenhagen criteria and on EU countries that are against Turkey’s accession due to geographical and cultural differences (Gülmez 2008, Büyükbay 2011a,b,c).

The Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), the third-largest party in parliament, exhibits strong elements of political Euroscepticism due to its extreme-right political position. The nationalist MHP has been mainly classified as hard Eurosceptic or Eurorejectionist by social scientists (Büyükbay 2011, Avcı 2011b). As a radical-right party, the MHP rejects any loss of sovereignty to the EU. Although Turkey’s possible EU membership, regarded as Turkey’s

“state policy”, is recognized in the party programme and Turkey is seen as a Western ally,, the integration should happen “in a just and honourable way” (MHP 2011). In the past, the MHP has regarded relations with the EU as one-sided and emphasised the consideration of mutual interests. In defiance of the party’s claim that it has no prejudices against European integration, it is apparent that there are reservations relating to Turkey’s national interests and sensibilities:

The essential factors for the Turkish people are respect and bondage to our national culture, the unity of our country and our common state structure. The respect that the countries of the European Union will show to our national sensibilities will form the basic criteria that will determine the future of our relations with these countries. (MHP 2011)

Although European integration and the EU are not explicitly rejected, the MHP sharply criticises the fundamental ideas of European integration and EU requirements in key areas (MHP 2005), especially the transfer of sovereignty to EU institutions and the granting of freedoms related to religion and expression are denied (MHP 2006). The party thus shows a strong adherence to the current national system. The MHP states that it will support EU-Turkey negotiations only if the EU does not damage Turkish national unity and its interests in questions such as Cyprus and Armenia (MHP 2009). For instance, in the Cyprus issue, the attitude of the MHP is based on a strongly nationalistic and xenophobic ideological positioning along with a negative external image.

While other Turkish parties mainly accept the sovereignty transfer to EU institutions, they show weak signs of political Euroscepticism. In Turkey, political Euroscepticism is mainly expressed by one party – the MHP – through the fear of loss of sovereignty together with the rejection of freedoms of religion and expression. This conflict can be observed in various forms within the MHP, as it accepts the European integration, but acts against the fundamental values of the process. The MHP has an on-going European discourse characterised by harsh negative rhetoric and negative connotations used against the EU and its institutions (Büyükbay 2011). The party places uniform national identity as its highest priority and opposes the cultural rights of minorities in Turkey, arguing that this could lead to the dissolution of the state (MHP 2006). According to the MHP’s view, the EU’s criteria, based on the fundamental values of European integration, undermine Turkey’s national sensibilities and interests and represent a major challenge to the nationalist political discourse. They regard national sensibilities, national unity and integrity, uniform state structure, national identity and sovereignty as indispensable. Based on the party programme, it is not clear whether national sensibilities and national culture are in conflict with the basic values of European integration or not. However, its ultra-nationalist character as well as elements of a combined political and cultural Euroscepticism can be traced in the MHP’s publications extensively. Hence, in Turkey, it is the MHP that attributes high

importance to the national identity and the unity of nation and state. It goes even so far as to argue that granting minority rights could lead to the dissolution of the country.

The Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) is a pro-Kurdish ethnic and regional party founded after the closure of the Democratic Society Party (DTP) by the Constitutional Court in December 2009 due to latter's links to the terrorist organization PKK. It has supported the European integration process, especially because the EU gives special importance to the improvement of the Kurdish minority's political and social rights. As a result, EU integration is generally perceived as a means towards the democratisation of Turkey (BDP 2011), even though they accuse the EU of having turned "a blind eye to the unfair treatment of Kurdish people" in Turkey (Şeraffetin Elçi, an influential Kurdish politician and a deputy of BDP, in *Today's Zaman* 2011). The BDP stresses the importance of a pluralistic society, which is one of the EU's main principles and which can be ensured through a new constitution, against a monolithic understanding of the state (BDP 2011). The BDP supports Turkey's EU membership, for the EU project is seen as the project of this century in order to raise the standards of human rights, democracy and the rule of law; Table 2 summarises the main types of Euroscepticism of the main political parties in Turkey:

**Table 2: Categorisations of Political Parties According to Different Models**

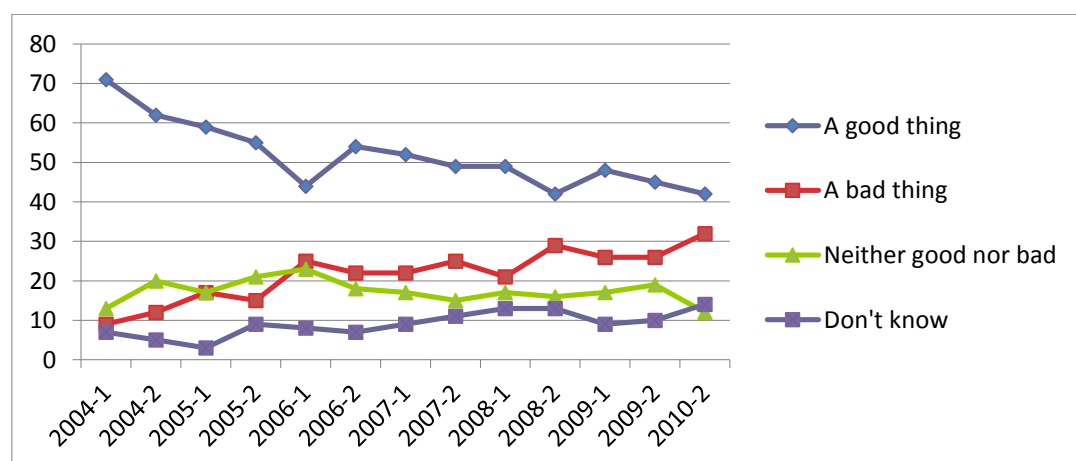
<b>Political Parties</b>	<i>Kopecky/Mudde (2002)</i>	<i>Taggart/Sczzerbiak (2002)</i>	<i>Leconte (2010)</i>
AKP	Europragmatist	Soft Eurosceptic	Utilitarian/ Cultural
CHP	Eurosceptic	Soft Eurosceptic	-
MHP	Eurorejectionist	Hard Eurosceptic	Political/Cultural
BDP	Euroenthusiast	-	-

### *Public Euroscepticism in Turkey*

The objective of this section is to present and explain Turkish public perceptions of the European Union and Europe. This section aims to give an overview of the changes in public opinion and then to evaluate the most recent state of affairs by considering data from different surveys. It addresses two questions. First, why and to what extent do people support the European Union, and what are the objections, worries and reservations about the EU? Secondly, how have these perceptions changed since 1999?

When Turkey received candidate status at the Helsinki Summit in 1999, Turkish attitudes toward the project were quite positive. However, levels of approval and rejection of the European integration have not been constant in Turkey. Different opinion polls indicate that Turkish public approval of European integration has been continuously decreasing since 2004. This shift in public attitudes towards integration is an important turning point and it happens parallel to the slowing down of the accession process (Bardakçı 2007). This trend is confirmed by the findings of the Eurobarometer public opinion survey sponsored by the European Commission. Until 2004, a large number of Turks responded positively to the Eurobarometer trend question of whether membership is considered a “good thing” or a “bad thing”. Since then, however, this rate of approval has dropped to a minimum level. Figure 1 shows the percentage of support for the EU, as operationalised in the Eurobarometer survey:

**Figure 1: Support for the EU: Generally speaking, do you think that (our country)’s membership of the European Union would be...?**

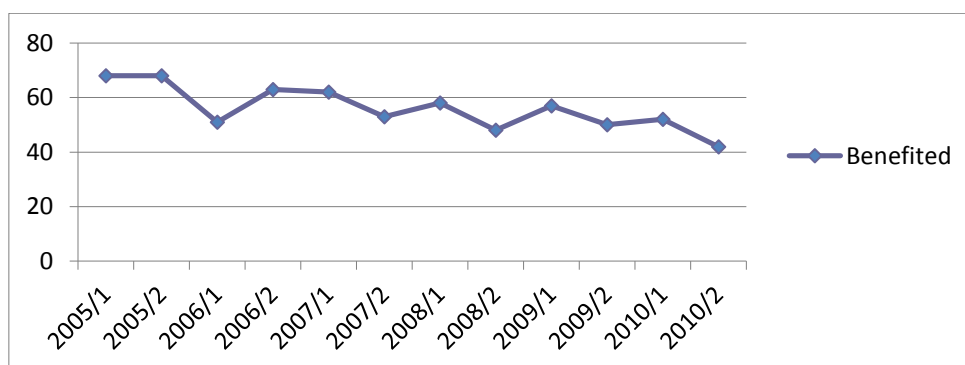


Source: Eurobarometer (2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010)

The figure above clearly shows the downward trend of enthusiasm vis-à-vis the EU: In 2004, 71% of respondents viewed the EU membership as a good thing and 7% as a bad thing. In

contrast, the Eurobarometer survey of Autumn 2010 indicates that 42% of Turks say that Turkey's membership would be a good thing (minus 29 points since Spring 2004), while 32% (plus 25 points since Spring 2004) consider that it would be a bad thing. The response to the question whether membership would have beneficial to one's country shows a similar trend. Figure 2 shows the downward trend of the positive answers:

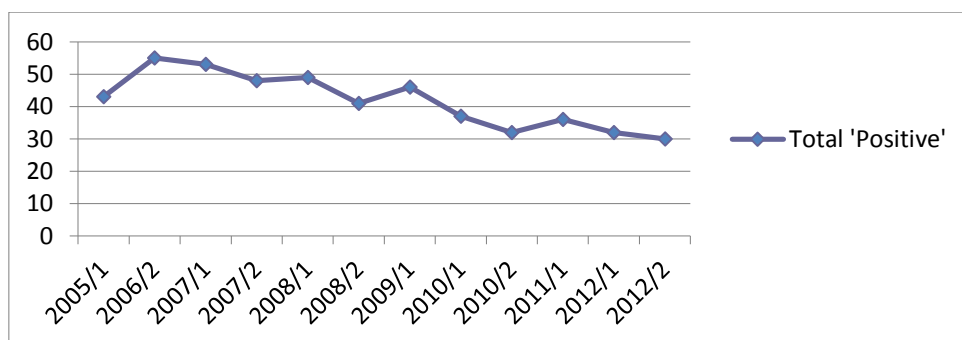
**Figure 2: Benefits of the EU membership: Taking everything into account, would you say that Turkey has/would have on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Union?**



Source: Eurobarometer (2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010)

In Spring 2005, 68% of respondents considered EU membership to be beneficial, while in Autumn 2010 the percentage fell to 42% (-26%). One can observe small increases in the positive attitudes in some years, but it remains a fact that the rate fell to an all-time low in Autumn 2010. The Eurobarometer statistics thus reveal a downward trend in the percentage of positive answers. In a similar vein, we can observe a negative trend in the image of the EU in Turkey. Figure 3 illustrates this:

**Figure 3: Image of the EU: In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?**



Source: Eurobarometer (2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012)

By Autumn 2012, the positive image of the EU in Turkey had decreased to 30%, an all-time low. This finding shows a similar negative trend such as the other two graphics. Moreover, in Autumn 2012, the respondents answered the question, what the EU does mean to them personally, with economic prosperity (26%) and freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the EU (23%).<sup>17</sup> In order to comprehend the EU's image better, the Eurobarometer Autumn 2010 survey asked which words are appropriate to describe the EU.<sup>18</sup> As shown in the table there are differences between Turkey and the EU-27 countries. Whereas in Turkey “modern” describes the EU with a percentage of 77%, in the EU this percentage is 64%. The word “democratic” obtains the second highest percentage in Turkey at 58% and heads the table in the EU with 68%. Table 3 shows the words describing the EU in Turkey and the EU-27:

**Table 3: Words describing the image of the EU in Turkey and the EU-27**

	Turkey	EU-27
Modern	77%	64%
Democratic	58%	68%
Protective	45%	54%
Inefficient	39%	42%
Technocratic	42%	47%

Source: Eurobarometer, Autumn 2010

As in any other European country, in Turkey there is a high correlation between support for the EU and the level of knowledge about European integration. Therefore, the understanding of EU issues are crucial in diminishing Euroscepticism. In the Autumn 2010 Barometer, the respondents were asked to declare if a given statements was true or false.<sup>19</sup> At 38%, Turkey is well below the European average of 63%. It has the lowest score among the candidate and

<sup>17</sup> Generally, the items ‘economic prosperity’, ‘freedom to travel’, ‘study and work’, ‘democracy’ and ‘a stronger say in the world’ top the list and obtained the highest scores before 2012. The negative item that has the highest percentage is ‘the loss of cultural identity’.

<sup>18</sup> Please tell me for each of the following words if it describes very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly the idea that you might have of the European Union. Modern; Democratic; Protective; Inefficient; Technocratic.

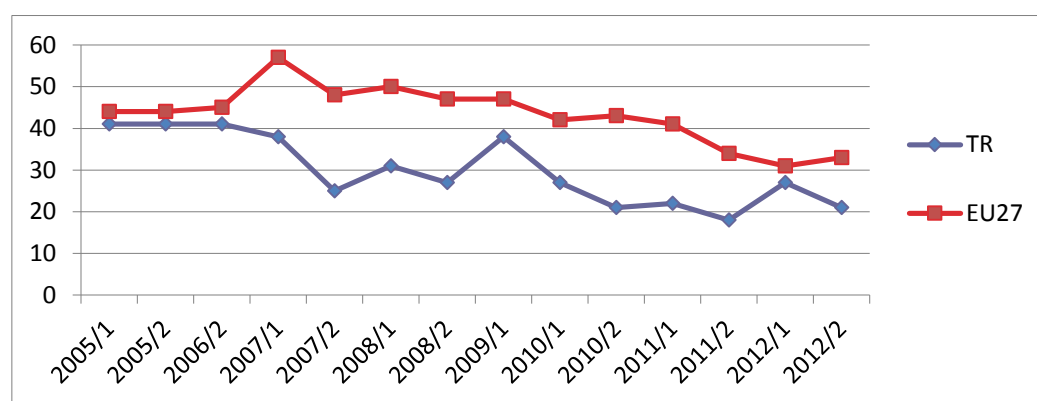
<sup>19</sup> For each of the following statements about the European Union could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false? The EU currently consists of 27 Member States; The Members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member State; Switzerland is a member of the EU.



member countries surveyed. It can be summarised that among the Turkish public, we can find the lowest level of subjective and objective knowledge about the EU.<sup>20</sup>

In Turkey, only a minority of respondents trust the European Union. In Spring 2005, this percentage was 41%, and 21% in Autumn 2012. The Eurobarometer surveys indicate that the trust in the European Union did not increased after Turkey obtained its candidacy status. The low level of trust is highly related with the belief of unfair treatment by the EU towards Turkey (Carkoglu 2003: 26). Figure 5 shows the declining trend in Turkey in comparison to EU-27 from 2005 to 2012:

**Figure 4: Trust in the EU**



Source: Eurobarometer (2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012)

There are three main problems with the data obtained from the Eurobarometer surveys. The first is the relatively late inclusion of Turkey in the Eurobarometer survey (beginning in 2001). The second problem is the sampling due to the difficult conditions of data collection in Turkey. The third and most important problem with Eurobarometer surveys is the nature of questions. The questions are not well-prepared for an in-depth analysis of the Turkish public (Senyuva 2006). Hence, it would be necessary to show the results of surveys taken by Turkish political scientists to compare to the Eurobarometer findings. Below, I will briefly explain the most important public surveys in Turkey.

A public opinion survey conducted in May and June 2002 sponsored by the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) examined the different bases of support for

<sup>20</sup> Other surveys also indicate that respondents' knowledge of the topics regarding EU membership is very low. More than 50% of Turks believe that they have the lowest possible level of knowledge on the issues (Carkoglu 2003:25).

the EU and Euroscepticism in the Turkish public opinion. The researcher summarises the study's findings in the following excerpt:

Euroscepticism in Turkey tends to increase from higher to lower income groups, from higher to lower education levels, from more to less access to written information, from more to less familiarity with European countries and languages, from modern, urban and high-tech to traditional, rural and low-tech occupations, from a self-identification based on Republican citizenship to an ethnic and religious self-identification, from more to less association with Kurdish culture and identity, from lower to higher degrees of religiosity, from the left-wing to the right-wing of the ideological spectrum, from the support base of the secularist to the one of the Islamic- oriented political parties, from the support base of the centrist to the support base of the extremist political parties. (Yılmaz 2003:75)

The study indicates that despite the overwhelming support for the EU in 2002 (64%), an equal part of the respondents expressed doubts and lack of confidence toward the EU (Yılmaz 2003: 1). Firstly, half of the respondents considered the EU as a Christian Club (49%) and think that the EU would never accept a Muslim country like Turkey joining, irrespective of Turkey's fulfilment of the Copenhagen Criteria (48%). Secondly, 62% of the respondents thought that the EU has treated Turkey unequally by imposing certain criteria on Turkey that are not part of the normal accession criteria. 61% of the respondents also said that Europeans do not understand Turkey and the Turks at all. Moreover, the public considers EU membership not a popular project, but a state one – driven by elites and the project of the secularist-centrist political establishment (Yılmaz 2003:59). The most interesting observation from this research is that there at the time there were different forms of Euroscepticism but no Eurorejectionism, as every sub-group supported EU membership by a decisive majority and the Turkish public does not reject the concept of shared sovereignty with EU institutions. Yılmaz highlights the absence of the Eurorejectionism in contrast to strong Turcoscepticism:

The virtual absence of a meaningful Turkish Eurorejectionism strikingly contrasts with ever growing European exclusionism and outright rejectionism directed against Turkey. This European rejectionism targeting Turkey, which can be observed among both the elites as well as the common people of Europe, and which uses historical, geographical, civilizational, religious, cultural or political motives, stands in a dramatic contrast with the almost non-existent Turkish rejectionism aimed at Europe (Yılmaz 2003:77)

Further research examined the Turkish public's fears, doubts and anxieties vis-à-vis Europe and the European Union, and defined the basic types of anxiety concerning Europe and European Union (Yılmaz 2003). These are listed as *historical anxiety* based on past fears, *exclusion anxiety* based on the fear of being excluded by Europe via double standards, *sovereignty anxiety* based on the fear of losing the national sovereignty, *religious anxiety* stemming from regarding the EU as a Christian Club, *separatism anxiety* based on the fear of

the damage to national unity caused by the EU<sup>21</sup> and *moral anxiety* tied to the erosion of traditional values.<sup>22</sup>

Another study from 2002 investigated public opinion towards the EU with a focus on attitudes towards Europe, religiosity and faith, degree of nationalism, political preferences and conventional demographic characteristics. It employed a multivariate statistical analysis, showing that factors such as nationalistic attitudes, Euroscepticism, religiosity, anti-democratic attitudes led to low degree of support for EU membership. With the exception of nationalistic attitudes, these attitudinal indicators were found to be the most influential of all variables in the study and are the major sources for rejecting EU membership. Çarkoğlu explains the findings of the study in the following:

From a policy perspective, there exist many so-called “sensitive” issues that can easily be used by groups and parties who choose to oppose EU membership. These issues are more likely to be publicly expressed, and thus conveniently exploited, within a nationalistic, Euro-skeptic and religious rhetoric so as to make them more palatable to the largely EU-supportive Turkish public. The choice of the rhetoric adopted may significantly change the level of support for or against policy modifications necessary for the fulfilment of the Copenhagen Criteria. (Çarkoğlu 2002:187)

A more recent study analysing citizen support for EU membership based on pooled Eurobarometer data scrutinises three factors (Kentmen 2008): national identity, Islam and utilitarian considerations to explain individual support for Turkey’s accession to the EU. Although research has shown that religion plays an important role in the attitudes of individuals towards the European Integration project,<sup>23</sup> interestingly, the study discovered that attitudes towards the EU do not vary with attachment to Islam. Rather, influence on national identity and macro-economic advantages play a role in shaping attitudes. The study points out that in the European integration process, which structures the socio-economic structure of a state, the public evaluates the integration process in terms of its influence on national identity and on its

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<sup>21</sup> In a survey carried out by Istanbul's Bilgi University in 2006, a strikingly high number of respondents (52%) claimed that the EU tried to disintegrate Turkey.

<sup>22</sup> Exclusion anxiety is based on the observation regarding double standards of the EU (61%) and that the EU will not accept Turkey as a member, even if Turkey satisfies all the necessary conditions (50%). Historical anxiety is manifested by respondents agreeing (40%) with the statement that the conditions of the EU are similar to the capitulation of the Ottoman Era agree or to the Sevres Treaty (30%). Sovereignty anxiety is manifested agreeing (53% of respondents) to the statement that the Turkish state will be brought to an end if Turkey does everything the EU asks her to do. Religious anxiety is based on the agreement (56%) with the statement that the EU is founded on Christian values. Separatism anxiety is manifested with the agreement (66%) to the statement that some EU countries supported the PKK. Moral anxiety is manifested on the agreement to the statements that joining the EU will lead to the corruption of young people’s moral values (55%) and the corruption of religious values (54%) (Yılmaz 2003:81).

<sup>23</sup> Research has mainly concentrated on the differences of being a Protestant or Catholic in attitudes towards the EU and European Integration, and contrasted the strengthening role of Protestantism on attachment to a nation in comparison to transnational Catholic culture (Hagevi 2002, Nelsen et al. 2001, Vollaard 2006).

contributions to the Turkish national economy. The findings of the study go against the widespread correlation of the concepts of Islam and anti-Westernism. In contrast, the study found out that religious individuals are not less supportive of the EU. Supporting this finding, Ihsan Dagi (2004) maintains that many individuals with strong attachment to Islam have supported European values such as democracy and liberalism as a response to state authority over religious freedom. Despite these empirical findings, it is oversimplifying to claim that religious attachments have no effect of attitudes of the EU. Moreover, in the integration process, individuals face a new social form through changes in the political and social structure, and they may hold to their religious values as a mechanism providing stability (Hagevi 2002; Nelsen et al. 2001).

### ***Reasons for the Shift in Public Opinion***

The negative trend of the public opinion as can be observed in the Eurobarometer and other surveys cannot simply be equated with hard-Euroscepticism or anti-Europeanism. Instead, growing Euroscepticism in Turkish public opinion is the result of the belief in the inequality of the accession process and growing distrust of the EU (Taraktaş 2008:254). There are a variety of possible explanations for this negative shift in public opinion. Bardakci (2007) lists the underlying reasons: the dramatic decrease in public support for the EU is linked to the pessimistic attitude of major European countries, especially France and Germany, and to the negative European public opinion regarding Turkey's EU membership. Additionally, utilitarian motives, namely the perceived costs of accession, come into play. Some sectors, such as agriculture, would lose a significant amount of state subsidies in the EU accession process as part of measures to strengthen public finance.

Moreover, the EU's perceived double standards in the case of Cyprus is a vital factor. In the eyes of the Turkish public, the EU made them feel disillusioned as Brussels did not stick to its promise of lifting the isolation of Northern Cyprus if Turkish Cypriots supported the referendum for reunification based on the 2004 Annan Plan. Although an overwhelming majority of Turkish Cypriots supported the reunification plan, the embargos on and isolation of Northern Cyprus still remain intact. Additional dissatisfaction also stemmed from the rising demand in European circles that Turkey acknowledge Armenian genocide claims as almost a pre-requisite for Turkey's EU membership. These, along with the resumption of PKK attacks in 2005 despite the EU reforms and the nationalist reaction, which enlarged freedom of expression and the rights of minorities have all contributed to the dramatic rise of Euroscepticism among the Turkish public. That is the reason that during the post-accession

process in 2007, Turkish popular support for the EU membership has declined to an all-time low (Bardakci 2007). As Bardakci (2007) argues, the decrease in public support for the EU paralleled the worsening of Turkey-EU relations at the official level. Surveys conducted by the European Commission and the German Marshall Fund<sup>24</sup> confirm this development. The public reacted negatively to this slowing down of the accession negotiations in 2006, and the image of the EU worsened in the eyes of the public (Bardakci 2007). In a similar vein, the 2007 Transatlantic Trend Survey indicates that the majority of Turks (54%) considered the EU global leadership undesirable which was part of the overall negative image of the EU. At this point, it should be underlined that the decline in trust of the EU on the part of the public opinion may lead to any political movement to use anti-EU rhetoric to mobilise their support base (Çarkoğlu 2007:2).

The Transatlantic Trend Survey's findings indicate similar results and enlarges the perspective on public opinion of the West.<sup>25</sup> In 2004, the survey indicated that Turkish respondents strongly support the EU membership (73%).<sup>26</sup> They identified the main reason for their support as the economic benefits of membership for Turkey (70% of respondents affirming). The report states that there is a high rate of "don't know" answers among Turkish respondents to different questions in the survey, indicating that Turkey's European identity remains a work in progress. Compared to 70% of EU members in 2005, only 41% of Turks wanted the EU to become a superpower like the United States. In 2006, the Transatlantic Trend Survey focused on the question of whether Turkey is turning away from the West. The survey came to the conclusion that Turkey has cooled toward Europe with a percentage of 45% (-7 points in comparison to 2004) and the United States with a percentage of 20% (-8 points in comparison to 2004), but has warmed toward Iran with 43% (+7 points in comparison to 2004).<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, Turkish politicians, notably Turkish foreign minister Abdullah Gül, warned that disappointment about the slowing down of the accession process could cause Turkey to drift away from the West and the EU (Transatlantic Trend Survey 2006:17). Gül stated that Turkey is jeopardising itself by turning away from its alliances in the West, and that "moderate liberal people [in Turkey] are becoming anti-American and anti-EU," particularly

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<sup>24</sup> The Eurobarometer surveys and others show similar results. According to a study of the German Marshall Fund "the ratio of Turks who see membership in the EU as a 'good thing' fell from 73% in 2004 to 54% in 2006 and to 50% in 2008.

<sup>25</sup> The Transatlantic Trend Survey is a comprehensive survey of European and American public opinion and is a project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States. Turkey was included for the first time in 2004.

<sup>26</sup> The percentage of the respondents, who view EU membership as a good thing has declined from 73% in 2004 to 32% in 2008.

<sup>27</sup> In 2008, Turkish warmth towards the European Union is 33% and towards the United States 14%, showing downward trend in feelings towards both since 2004.

“young, dynamic, educated, and economically active people” (Financial Times 2006:11 cited in Transatlantic Survey 2006:19). Although the accession negotiations started on 3 October 2005, there is an unresolved conflict about the Cyprus issue and negative reactions of the European public and some European politicians against the Turkish accession.

Moreover, Turkish-American relations have worsened after the American’s invasion of Iraq, and Turkey has repeatedly mentioned its objections to American policies in the Middle East. In 2007, the Transatlantic Trend Survey focussed on the issue of Turkey’s relations with the West. In that year, accession negotiations with the EU worsened when the EU suspended eight of the thirty-five chapters in the negotiation framework and the negative attitude of the new French President Nicholas Sarkozy towards Turkey’s EU Membership strengthened Euroscepticism in Turkey. The approval ratings of the Turkish people towards the United States have fallen to 11% in 2007 (-9% in comparison to 2006) and towards the EU 26%. The issue of Turkey has remained a matter for debate in EU politics and Turkey is considered more isolated than ever from West and East. In 2008, 55% of Turkish respondents agreed that Turkey has different values that are not really shared by the West. At the same time, US president Barack Obama said in an interview that if the EU pushed the Turkish accession sluggishly, “...this will inevitably influence the way Turkish people see Europe. If they do not feel themselves as part of the European family, it is natural that they [Turks] will search for other partners and allies” (Transatlantic Survey 2007). To conclude, Transatlantic Trends looked to see if Turkey was drifted away from the West and concluded that support for EU membership has fallen, criticism of the U.S. and the EU has continued, Turkish feelings towards the EU have cooled and finally that support for NATO has declined.

## **2.2 Occidentalism: The Construction and Use of the West**

*In the sky, there is no distinction of East and West;  
people create distinctions out of their own minds  
and then believe them to be true.*

*Buddha*

Part of the theoretical approach of this dissertation centres on Occidentalism, a new research field concerning the discourse constructing Europe or the West.<sup>28</sup> It stands in contrast

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<sup>28</sup> In this thesis, I employ concepts like “the West,” “the East,” “the Orient,” “the Occident,” as representations of imagined entities. Accordingly, they should be written inside quotation marks. However, for the sake of brevity and clarity, I have left out the quotation marks around these terms, unless emphasis requires otherwise.

to Orientalism, the hegemonic Western discursive formation of the Orient as described by Edward Said in his influential book *Orientalism* (1978). Occidentalism<sup>29</sup> focusses on how the West is constructed in popular and scientific discourse, in either the West or East. Thus, as a conceptual framework, it will be employed to analyse the constructions of the West/Europe in the imaginations of civil society leaders and how they influence the discursive construction of the Euroscepticism in Turkey. Furthermore, as will be explained later in this chapter, Occidentalism reveals the power dimension of the discursive constructions of the West and Europe. To search for traces of Occidentalist discourses is crucial to understanding the attitudes towards the EU. Gil Eyal (2006:6) argues that Edward Said ignored a hybrid entity between the East and the West, thus disregarding the fact that Orientalism is also a project of producing and handling boundaries. Accordingly, Meltem Ahiska (2003:359) emphasises that Said's neglect of a discussion concerning Turkey, which is often described as a bridge between the East and the West, is based on the fact that Said ignores the reality of boundaries and hybrids. Considering this gap, it would be complementary to analyse the Occidentalist discourse in Turkey, as a possible strong element catalysing Eurosceptic attitudes, because the parameters of Turkish politics and society are highly dependent on an imaginary concept of Europe and the West, whereas their meanings differ between various segments of society and politics. In almost every debate on the political agenda, rules and regulations are compared with the standards of the West.<sup>30</sup> . It is crucial to critically examine what kinds of ideological and power relations influences the separation of "us and them" and lead us to create certain types of representations of geographies and societies.

### ***2.2.1 Origins and Definitions of Occidentalism***

Edward Said's influential academic work *Orientalism* led to new viewpoints and research fields for understanding Eastern constructions of the West. In this context, one of the major contributions of the book is that it brought a new ways of perception and understanding to the different bases of the historical processes and concepts. Said defines Orientalism not so

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<sup>29</sup> The earliest theorising of the term has been at a session at the 1992 meeting of the American Anthropological Society. (Carrier 1995: 269)

<sup>30</sup> In recent times, the "axis-shift" discussion about whether Turkish foreign policy has drifted away from its strong Western orientation toward a more "eastern-oriented" (Middle East as a focal point) foreign policy have attracted remarkable international attention. After the mass uprisings in Egypt, Turkey has been held up by American and European politicians and media as a model for the Egyptian socio-political transformation in the post-Hosni Mubarak era mainly because the unique combination of democracy and Islam in Turkey. These discussions reflect to a great extent the centrality of Turkey for the West in its relations with the Eastern countries.

much as an attitude that has evolved during a certain time period, but rather as an element of hegemony. Indeed, Foucault's knowledge-discourse-power relationship creates the actual basis of the term Orientalism (Todorova 1997), whereby it refers to a political process that primarily includes overt and covert power relationships. On the other hand, Occidentalism is a hotly contested term and has been conceptualised in different ways. A number of previous books have utilised the concept with its conflictual meanings. Occidentalism is generally defined in two different ways:

- a) a stereotypical and dehumanising view of the so-called Western world, including Europe and America;
- b) ideologies and visions of the West in the West or the non-West.

The first definition emphasises the negative constructions of the West and often concentrates on the Islamic world. It is dominant in Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit's book *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (2004).<sup>31</sup> Through this book, the term became popular in Western media and has been associated with anti-Westernism. There, Occidentalism is defined as the ideology of hatred towards Western social structures and values, a threat to the core values of modernity and a defensive reaction against the West. This approach only considers the hostile and stereotypical image of the West in the post 9/11 world, especially by Islamic movements.

An influential Iranian intellectual, Jalal Al Ahmed, invented the concept of Westoxification in the 1960s in order to describe the impact of the West on other cultures, starting with the anti-Western nationalism of Japan in the 1930s. In a mirror form to Edward Said's Orientalism, anti-Western ideas are brought under the concept of Occidentalism. This type of Occidentalism views the West as materialistic, decadent and sexually immoral. Moreover, the West is seen as a homogenous entity with a mechanistic structure equated with capitalism. These approaches only consider the pessimistic and hostile representations of the West in the eyes of colonised peoples, overlooking the crucial role of reactionary and anti-Western Occidentalism in the reproduction of the West as an ideal and developed territory.

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<sup>31</sup> The subtitle of Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit's *Occidentalism* is "the West in the eyes of its enemies". Today the image of the enemy is mostly visible in the hostile Islamic reactions against the West. However, the book is unsystematic, and there are no clear definitions of the West and Occidentalism. The West has a materialist and mechanistic worldview, stressing instrumental rationality and utilitarian values and is considered based on ideals and principles originating in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Europe and Enlightenment-based scientific rationality, democracy, and a commitment to liberal rights of individuals. It is stressed that the enemies of the West are in principle against these values.



They neglect the role of the West in the formation of the national identities (Güney 2006). Accordingly, Occidentalism has become a significant and controversial topic when researchers analyse the penetration of Western values into their own societies. This includes the danger of creating a worldview based on “Othering the West”.

Nevertheless, beyond this popular belief, Occidentalism has also been employed in different academic discourses with divergent meanings that are closer to the second approach, which has a broader scope and includes both positive and negative representations. It was employed first by James G. Carrier in his book *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (1995). Before Buruma’s and Margalit’s book was published, Occidentalism had been employed to denote Westernism. Xiaomei Chen (1995) examined Occidentalism in China, attributing to it a positive meaning of Westernism. According to him, Occidentalism provided a counter-discourse against the established regime. Chen (2001) later conceptualised the term Occidentalism as the totality of Western representations constructed in non-Western societies. He distinguished between official and unofficial Occidentalism. The official discourse uses the essentialisation of the West as a means to support nationalism, whereas unofficial Occidentalism is a discourse instrumentalising the “Western Other” against internal ideological repression (Chen 2001:936-938). Another theoretical vein conceptualised Occidentalism as the historical process of making and signifying the West (Venn 2000, Mignolo 2000, Coronil 1996).

A popular usage of the term can be seen from Egyptian philosopher Hassan Hannafi, who described it as an academic field and a necessary counter-discourse against the aggressive and declining West. It may also be interpreted as the study of the constitutive discourse of Europe or the West. Hannafi highlights it in the following: “The object of study in Orientalism becomes the studying subject in Occidentalism, and the studying subject in Orientalism becomes an object of study in Occidentalism” (Hannafi 2010). Hannafi (2010) also argues for the necessity of developing a research field in the East to analyse the West from a non-Western perspective. He claims that Occidentalism is a kind of defense of national character, culture and lifestyle against the alienation and constitutes a mass culture against Orientalism as an elite culture. He rejects the myth of modern civilization and that Orient being constructed as a passive object and the West as an active subject in academic and political discourses. This leads him to "restore the dialectic between subject and object" (Hannafi 2010). Thus, he aims to switch roles and explore the West as an object and make the reality of the West an abstract concept. According to Hannafi (2010), Occidentalism is a discipline that has been constituted in the Third World in order to complete the entire process of decolonisation. Military, economic

and political decolonisation would be incomplete without scientific and cultural decolonisation. Hannafi maintains that in Huntington's clash of civilisations thesis, the East is linked to a construction of Islam based on human rights abuses, terrorism and regression, whereas the West is regarded as superior and developed. Hence, Islam operates in these constructions in opposition to the West. The concept of the West is imaginary, in the sense that is understood as homogenous and unitary, as actually often applies in the case of Islamic countries. From a historical perspective, these stereotypes have important meanings. Some historians claim the superiority of the West as a consequence of the innate virtue of their civilisation. Other historians put the Eurocentric discourse in question. This dichotomy continues to dominate.<sup>32</sup>

Nevertheless, Fernando Coronil (1996:81) emphasises that Occidentalism is not reversed Orientalism because the relationship between the Self and Other are not symmetrical. Accordingly, to perceive Orientalism and Occidentalism as a binary couple could lead to the false belief that the two phenomena balance each other, as if the power of Orientalism could be overcome by putting Occidentalism in its place. Similarly, Edward Said stresses that Occidentalism should not be considered a response to Orientalism because the Eastern countries gain nothing by creating their stereotypes of the West, seeing it as a fixed entity comprising of a homogeneous ideological and cultural structure (Ning 1997:57).<sup>33</sup> However, Coronil (1996) maintains that the way the Orient conceptualises the West can function as a counter-balancing factor against powerful Western imaginations of the East. In his definition of Occidentalism, he refers to different practices that contribute to the origination of a worldview that divides the world into different units and whereby the world history is analysed in isolation, as if there have been no interactions between different areas. This perception considers the differences between the West and the East as a natural law. He finds it surprising that the representatives of different ideologies in the West and East agree that the West is the source and locus of modernity. Hence, broadening our perspective and taking the mutual historical processes into account would contribute to a more varied analysis. Modernity is in fact formed by generalised statements that constantly define geographic and cultural boundaries. To equate modernity with the West and the Orient with tradition would mean creating means to create a binary ontology, which defies history and social reality. Coronil (1996:57) states that "Occidentalism [must] be unsettled as a

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<sup>32</sup> Famous publications which handle the binary categorisation of the West and the East are Samuel Huntington's "The Clash of Civilizations" (1993), Bernard Lewis "The roots of Muslim rage and what went wrong with the Islamic tradition?" (1990). These works are criticised in their explanations of Islam.

<sup>33</sup> However, Bryan Turner (1994) accused Edward Said to contribute to an aggressive Occidentalism equivalent to Orientalism that rejects everything associated with the West and accordingly a rejection of the heritage of modernity.

style of representation that produces polarised and hierarchical conceptions of the West and its “Others.” Ahistorical, essentialist, culturalist and irrational constructions of individuals, groups and world regions on the basis of a sense of otherness based on idiosyncrasies do not reflect their underlying social, political, economic and historical realities. Rather, it refers to the process of “othering” and mechanisms of exclusion. Othering practices can be encountered in countless practices in social and political processes, in scientific and mass media, political and everyday conversations across the political spectrum. With the concept of Occidentalism, he focuses on the gathering point of epistemic and political power, violence and domination. This reflects, therefore, an other/self dichotomy. The concept of Occidentalism presented in this study primarily relies on Fernando Coronil (1996) and is not regarded as the opposite of Orientalism as conceptualised by Buruma and Margalit (2002).

In a similar vein, Jonathan Spencer (2003:237) emphasises that Occidentalism is embedded in academic disciplines in terms of dichotomies such as modern versus traditional, rural versus and urban and, *Gesellschaft* versus *Gemeinschaft*, considering the West as the representative of modernity, progressiveness and urbanity and the East as the opposite. In a negative trend, the West is characterised as immoral due to its tenants of individualism, competition and exploitation. From a positive perspective, the West is viewed as the locus of innovative individualism and freedom as well as the source of enlightenment and progressiveness. Occidentalism can stand for either representations of the West by Western subjects and or articulations of the West by non-Western subjects. Spencer categorises Occidentalism into positivist and romantic Occidentalism. The positivist tradition can be traced back to the works of Dumont and Comte, in which the differences between West and East are located in temporal sections. The positivist tradition explains the delay of the East with a linear time comprehension, whereby the differences can be understood when “their” present is in fact “our past” (Ahiska 2003:353).

In conclusion, the historical development of Occidentalism is not analogous to the development of Orientalism through various stages. A symmetrical opposition between Occidentalisms and Orientalism is neither necessary nor convenient, as Occidentalism has no legal institutions, ideas, corporate image, developed concepts or systematic academic works regarding the West. Hence, ontological and political differences between the logics and methods of Occidentalism and Orientalism are present. Now that the way in which Occidentalism is generally conceptualised has been detailed, the term in relation to Turkey will be discussed in the next part.

### ***2.2.2 Occidentalism in Turkey: A Dual Meaning of the West***

As noted before, the neglect by Edward Said of discussion of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey is based on his ignorance of hybrids. With respect to this gap in post-colonial theory, it will be supplementary to trace the roots of the Occidentalist discourse in Turkey. In this sense, Occidentalism is a constant creation and border management between the East and West and a mechanism for the reproduction of hybrid units. The meaning of the West varies among nations, and it differs between the different segments of society: the right-wing, the left-wing, conservatives, Islamics and liberals all have all different visions of the West.<sup>34</sup>

At this point, a short explanation of Turkey's approaches towards the West, which have been ongoing for almost 300 years, is necessary. Due to a variety of reasons, Turkey has had a very complex and contradictory, but strong, relationship with the West. In the case of Turkey, Westernisation is a modernisation process referring to the phenomena of fundamental change and development. A social-cultural break has been present throughout the modernisation process since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, continuing with the successive changes after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, a remarkable turning point where a profound change of paradigm and a break from the Ottoman past occurred. However, a complete destruction of the past has been not possible.

Turkey's modernisation process is also a process of nation-state building. The creation of the nation-state necessitated a new construction of the past and consequently has taken generally a negative attitude towards the Ottoman period. This political, social and cultural process has been ongoing since the Tanzimat period, one of the most sensitive periods of Turkish modernisation. Since the Tanzimat reformation, Turkish intellectuals have embraced positivism and rationalism. Concepts such as utility, rationality and being a part of the civilised world have been the main discursive components of these thoughts. Intellectuals who have been critical of the modernisation process have stressed the loss of identity and attempted to build up a resistance against the desired changes. This opposite view was mainly based upon the famous differentiation of culture and civilisation by the Turkish intellectual Ziya Gökalp. According to Gökalp's conceptualisation, civilisation refers to the technology and production methods taken from the West. However, customs should be protected without changes.

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<sup>34</sup> The West has very different meanings and conceptualisations in Turkey's political/ideological culture, ranging from a very old enemy, Christians or the club of the rich to a reference point whose civilisation and technology should be transferred but its moral understandings rejected, the personification of exploitation and imperialism, a locus of rights and freedoms, a civilisation model, an utopia to be modelled.

Nevertheless, in Turkish practice, Westernisation<sup>35</sup> has not been understood as the implementation of certain facilities and technologies, but the adoption of a Western worldview in society (*Weltanschauung* in German). Modernists have emphasised the need of a right and pure Westernisation, whereas conservatives have mainly viewed it negatively as an imitation. According to this view, the imitation of the West meant an estrangement from the authentic Islamic Turkishness. Hence, the image of Europe is a permanent reference point in public discourse and in the discussions of Turkey's political, military and bureaucratic elites. It can be claimed that Europe as the "Other" has been considered in Turkish history both as a threat and an object of desire for Turkish identity. In other words, in relation to defining Turkish national identity since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Europe has been regarded either as a model for imitation or rejected as a threat to national sensibilities (see Ahiska 2005, 2010; Küçük 2008).

Ahiska (2003, 2010) emphasised the affect of Occidentalism on the formation of national identities. She argues that "Occidentalism is a means of performing Western modernity, while at times resisting its colonizing move. It is Westernism and anti-Westernism at the same time" (Ahiska 2010:7). She conceptualises Occidentalism both desire for and frustration towards the West, where modern Turkish national identity is reproduced. In Ahiska's terms, Occidentalism means "how the West figures in the temporal/spatial imagining of modern Turkish national identity" (Ahiska 2003:353). The terms point to both discursive and non-discursive strategies that non-Westerners use in order to respond to the West. Thus, Occidentalism can be considered as the imagination of the West in Turkey in relation to the formation of the Turkish subject. With the West as the universal model, Turkey is positioned as the imitator. Turkey seems always late to develop and never reach full completion. Turkey has been a defective copy of the West, an imitation of the model as well as a deficient and incomplete modernisation project. Ahiska's approach towards Occidentalism emphasises the crucial role of the patterns of perception and evaluation of the West by the non-West in the formation of their identities.

The second part of the conceptualisation of Occidentalism provided by Ahiska concerns the use of the idea of the West by political military and bureaucratic elites in order to maintain power. According to Ahiska (2005), Turkey is a place where Western representations are mobilised for power and justification strategies. Ahiska introduced the concept of

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<sup>35</sup>Westernisation was a modernising objective of Turkey's founding father Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and the aim to reach the level of modern (Western) civilisation became the central element of national identity formation for the Turkish nation. With this in mind, EU accession also incorporates the aim to accomplish the Kemalist modernisation project.

Occidentalism as a conceptual framework that offers a discourse of the Other as manoeuvring room for Turkish elites. According to Ahiska, “Occidentalism can be best understood as describing the set of practices and arrangements justified in and against the imagined idea of ‘the West’” (Ahiska 2003:16). A critical analysis of Occidentalism can open new ways of understanding the exercise of power through utilising the gap between the admired and yet frustrating image of the West.

Accordingly, Europe is perceived as an integral part of national identity and, at the same time, a challenge or even a threat to the nation. In Turkey, the history of the Republic shows a Europhile national discourse on the whole. The positive approach considers Europe as a glorified model based on the Europhile character of Atatürk’s reforms. These republican reforms aimed to turn Turkey into a modern Western country by using Europe as a model. On the other hand, in Turkish collective memory Europe is regarded as a threatening force that tries to disintegrate Turkey, an image having its roots from the Sèvres Treaty. Accordingly, if Turkey’s relations with Europe have gone well, Europe has been praised and the positive side of the dual approach is stressed. But, in cases of worsening relations, Europe’s negative characteristics come to the surface and Europe is characterised as culturally defective and as a potential threat.

Occidentalism helps us understand the general perceptions of the West that may also be perpetuated in civil society and the power processes in non-Western countries via their construction of the West. Meltem Ahiska (2010) does not consider it a theoretical confusion that Occidentalism means in the existing literature both Westernism and anti-Westernism. On the contrary, she claims that this refers to the historical double association of Orientalism and Occidentalism both in the West and the non-West. In this context, Turkish modernity has been a copy of the Western modernisation. Hence, the Turkish identity is regarded as a copy of the West with temporal differences. To Ahiska (2003:11), Turkish Occidentalism is not a defensive reaction towards the West, because the Western identity is a part of its own identity, whereby it has its own psychodynamic mechanisms based on a love-hate relationship. Ahiska (2003:5) argues that the theories of Orientalism skipped the formation of the subjectivities of Eastern countries and how they responded to these practices. She fills this gap by focussing on the imagination and articulation of the West by the non-West in the formation of their own identities. To Ahiska, “a study of Occidentalism means being receptive to the problems on the very boundary of the East-West divide” (Ahiska 2003:3). She discusses the problems of modernisation in Turkey and analyses perceptions of the imaginary West. Her purpose is to show the historicity of the non-Western concept and overcome the hegemony of the Western

concept of modernisation.<sup>36</sup> Focussing on the imagined temporal difference between the West and East, she argues that the non-Western countries distance themselves from their present and want to dream of an utopian future or a historical golden age. This is the result of an ontological time lag feeling of their society, which characterises their country as backward.

In a similar vein, Bülent Küçük (2008) stresses the importance of Europe in the history of Turkish identity and states the balance of positive or negative attitudes are changing continuously based on the communication of the various meanings of Europe in political and societal discourses. In line with Ahiska, Küçük argues that Turkish subjectivity forms itself on the border between the East and West: elites adapt Western modernity and have room to interpret definitions of the West and determine the borders of the adaptation according to their own interests. Based on their works, this study attempts to investigate the dual meanings and the instrumentalisation of the West by CSO leaders in order to understand Euroscepticism in Turkey through a discursive depth.

## **2.3 Civil Society**

Civil society is a contested concept and there is no commonly accepted definition of the term. An influential liberal social scientist, John Hall (1998:33), conceptualises it as "the self-organization of strong and autonomous groups that balance the state." Larry Diamond (1994:5) defines it as "the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, largely self-supporting, autonomous from state, and bound by a legal order or a set of shared values." Another influential social scientist, John Keane (1988:14), defines civil society as "an aggregate of institutions whose members are engaged primarily in a complex of non-state activities – economic and cultural production, voluntary associations and household life and who in this way preserve and transform their identity by exercising all sorts of pressures or controls upon the state institutions." The famous Turkish scholar Şerif Mardin (1995:296) perceives civil society as "a set of equilibrating social mechanisms," and, in another definition, Ernest Gellner views it as "a set of diverse non-governmental institutions which is strong enough to counterbalance the state and, while not preventing the state from fulfilling its role of keeper of the peace and arbitrator between major interests, can nevertheless prevent it from dominating and atomizing the rest of society" (1994:5).

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<sup>36</sup> The modernisation theorists handled Westernisation and modernisation as a movement where Western values are superior to others and the modernity is reflected from a centre which is the West. This Euro-centric model ignores the multiple modernities and based on a European centre with the modernization of a linear time scale ranging from traditional to modern. Synchronic comparisons are organised diachronically and produce a progress scale.

The European Union also has a set of definitions of civil society. The White Paper on European Governance (2001:14) defines civil society in reference to a broad range of CSOs, including NGOs (non-governmental organisations) such as environmental organisations, human rights organisations, and labour-market players such as trade unions, employer associations and professional organizations.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, according to the EU's definitions, business associations, religious communities and the media also represent civil society. The CONECCS-EU Civil Society Database (2011) considers organisations such as commercial unions, syndicates, political interest groups, local administration unions, service and production unions and religious interest groups as organisations of civil society. In some interpretations, civil society is defined as an arena of plurality and is not only comprised of officially registered organisations, but also involves other informal organisations. Accordingly, it includes official institutions such as foundations, associations, cooperatives, trade and industry chambers, unions and non-official social formations such as platforms, citizens initiatives, friendship groups, social movements, protest groups, religious communities and sects. As can be seen above, the categories and borders of civil society is quite disputable. Some suggest that trade unions, confederations and business associations that have a partially official character, are not compatible to a civic understanding consistent with civil society.<sup>38</sup>

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, civil society has gained increasing popularity, and the paradigm interpreting it as an opposing force to state power has become dominant in academic and journalistic discourses. According to this view, civil society was one of the most important tools that facilitated the transition from communism to capitalism and liberal government.<sup>39</sup> The liberal interpretations of CSOs mainly regard them either as the fifth power besides the legislative, executive, judiciary and the media, or as the third power besides the private and public sectors. As groups outside the organisational structure of public administration, they are considered to be key organisations in modern, democratic, industrial countries, generating grassroots projects, allocating resources and leading to more participatory

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<sup>37</sup> For practical reasons, I have avoided a narrow usage of civil society, which would have excluded many important actors from the analysis.

<sup>38</sup> Generally, among social scientists, the criteria for an organisation to be labelled a CSO should include autonomy from the state, formation by a voluntary community, organised structure and internal organisational democracy.

<sup>39</sup> However, there has been a strong debate in academia about civil society and its role in the democratisation processes. The main topic of these debates is whether it is a counterforce or balancing mechanism to state dominance (Keyman and İçduygu 2003). Björn Beckmann, for instance, stresses that the concept of civil society needs to be separated from its incorporation into the liberal theory of state-society relations, where state and society are juxtaposed as separate and conflicting spheres. Moreover, as Keyman and İçduygu (2003) maintain, civil society contains both democratic and anti-democratic discourses about identity and citizenship so that it may not necessarily lead to democratisation, in contrast to liberalist claims that CSOs constitute a necessary condition for enhancing democracy, human rights, good governance and political liberalisation.



social processes. Hence, they protect individuals against state authority. As the sphere outside the influence of political authorities, civil society is an arena of public deliberation standing opposite to ideological society, which is strictly controlled by the state. In civilised societies, in the terms of the English philosopher, John Locke, CSOs are the main elements of civic life. Arguably, the most important two functions of a civil society are to contribute to social change and to protect individuals against political power. In other words, the most basic functions of CSOs are to protect citizens from government interference and to protect fundamental rights and freedoms against the state. CSOs with these characteristics can transform an ideological society by containing characteristics that have the ability to transform a monistic society, a statist political culture and an official ideology under state protection and convert it to a civilian society. Otherwise, a CSO may function like a state institution and serve the formation of an ideological society. If CSOs have ideological tendencies, then they are generally regarded in the literature as not really being elements of civil society. A group of philosophers emphasised that the state should have a controlling function over the civil sphere, otherwise religious, class-based and ethnic division may lead to a “state of war”, to use Thomas Hobbes’ terms. More moderate views argue that extended state power may prevent democracy, but limited state power may enhance it.

In current academic discussions, civil society refers to the sum of organisations composing civil society on the one hand, and on the other hand it mainly equates them with positive ideals such as tolerance, political liberalisation and democracy. The latter meaning gives way to the fact that many social scientists, politicians, journalists see in the empowerment of civil society a cure to social and political conflicts. Accordingly, it has become a catchall concept related to the ideals of political liberalism dominating the Western world. In this liberal tradition, civil society is mainly understood as a balancing mechanism that checks the state. There should be two important criteria: issue-specificity and a lack of interest in ideological societal visions. Hence, civil society has become an overall concept for liberalism, modernisation and democratisation. Its democratic legitimacy is explained mainly through citizens’ political participation and the emergence of a political public opinion in a political system (Knodt and Finke 2005:13). Most scholars accept the liberal character of the term and link it with a liberal democratic political system.

As noted above, in classic liberal state-civil society relational models, civil society is regarded as a counter-balance to the power of the state. In the liberal approach to civil society, the defining characteristic of civil society is mainly being autonomous from the state, being a sphere independent from the control of political institutions (Anderson 1996, Cohen and Arato

1992). Nevertheless, in many countries, civil societies and governments have developed a wide range of ways to complement each other's activities. According to this view, civil society cooperates and compromises with the state (Chamberlain 1993; Huang 1993). Many civil society scholars and theorists advocate the meditational model of civil society. For instance, Augustus Norton (1995:7) considers civil society as a mediating structure between society and the state.<sup>40</sup>

Besides this positive meaning attached to the concept and the dominance of the liberal definition in the research, there is an alternative critical Marxist approach to conceptualising civil society. The Marxist interpretation points out the conflicts that may arise from civil society and between civil society and the state (see Dikici-Bilgin 2009). It argues that civil society can evolve in a nondemocratic way, without enhancing political liberalisation. Accordingly, one can find "patriarchal, Islamic, communist and fascist civil societies" (Beckman 1997:2). Ellen Wood criticises the current trend on the left-wing politics that civil society is associated with the notion of emancipation and that it has become a catchall concept for the left-wing. She claims that "civil society is now in danger of becoming an alibi for capitalism" (Wood 1990:61). The development of capitalism as a system of property relations and appropriation lead to the binary categorisation of the state and civil society as it is now widely conceptualised in this manner. The definition of civil society as an arena distinct from the public sphere of the state and the private sphere of the household first appeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a sphere of autonomous economic relations. She emphasises that both the state and civil society may exhibit oppressive tendencies:

The new concept of 'civil society' signals that the left has learned the lessons of liberalism about the dangers of state oppression, but we seem to be forgetting the lessons we once learned from the socialist tradition about the oppressions of civil society. On the one hand, the advocates of civil society are strengthening our defence of non-state institutions and relations against the power of the state; on the other hand, they are tending to weaken our resistance to the coercions of capitalism. (Wood 1990:63)

Hence, Wood is quite critical about the positive functions of civil society and sees it as an important instrument of capitalist system. After having outlined the liberal and critical approaches to civil society, in the next section, I will explain the understanding of civil society in this study.

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<sup>40</sup> Another famous Turkish social scientist, İlkey Sunar (1997:9) states that civil society is the "intermediate domain between the state and the individual, in which deliberation and association take place without constraint and coercion." Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato in their book *Civil Society and Political Theory* (1994) develop a three-fold model which differentiates between the state, economy and civil society.

### *2.3.1 The Gramscian Approach to Civil Society*

In constructing the discourse of Euroscepticism, I combine three closely related fields: Occidentalism, Critical Discourse Analysis and the Gramscian approach to civil society. The combination allows firstly the understanding of the power politics in Turkey and its association with the perceptions of the EU.<sup>41</sup> Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony was crucial for Said's purposes of explaining Orientalism because Gramsci views political society as penetrating into civil society through consent (Said 1978:11). At the same time, Gramsci's "indispensable" concept of hegemony helped Said to conceive of Orientalism not simply as a discourse imposed by colonial force, but one that owes much of its strength and durability to an on-going process of cultural reproduction within civil society. Moreover, Gramsci's writings questioned the organic relationship between power and truth and stressed the inseparability of philosophy and politics. Dennis Porter (1994:151-152) contemplates Gramsci's influence on Said, stressing that Said was influenced by Gramsci's notion of hegemony in understanding the pervasiveness of Orientalist constructs and representations in the so-called Occident, and their relation to the exercise of power over the 'Orient'. Porter (1994:155) claims that "hegemony is a phenomenon that is in constant flux and has to be defended, changed and recreated because of pressures from within and without. This is the historic nature of hegemony in an evolving sphere of superstructural conflict."

Gramsci's perspective on truth and power is reinvented by Michel Foucault. A critical discourse theory and methodology based on Foucault has many parallels with Gramscian thought, as both Gramsci and discourse analysis persuasively uncover the close relationship between truth and power. In the representations of civil society elites, the EU is imagined on the basis of power relations in Turkey. It should be noted that scholars in the field of international relations and globalisation studies have also turned to Gramsci in recent decades.<sup>42</sup> Inspired by Foucault, from whom he not only borrowed the term discourse but the central attention devoted to the relation of knowledge to power, Said exposed the dangers of essentialising the Orient as the "Other". He was also strongly influenced by Antonio Gramsci's distinction between civil and political society, especially the notion of cultural hegemony with which he invested Orientalism.

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<sup>41</sup> Inspired by Said, who combined the post-structuralist Foucault and Gramsci in his influential theory of Orientalism, I combine Critical Discourse Analysis based on Foucault's critical view, the Gramscian approach to civil society and Occidentalism to understand Euroscepticism.

<sup>42</sup> Robert Cox, Stephan Gill and Giovanni Arrighi in particular have drawn on Gramsci's theory of hegemony to illuminate questions of imperialism and global domination.

Hegel and Marx were the first thinkers who conceptualised civil society in a critical view. Gramsci attempted to enlarge Marxist theory to embrace his cultural aspects and the hegemonic struggles in the civil society. According to Gramsci, consent and coercion are two elements in which the hegemony of political society is reproduced within civil society. Gramsci's analysis of the relationship between the state and civil society is distinct from liberal approaches, where the borders of the state and civil society are strictly defined and the state abandons extensive intervention in civil society. Antonio Gramsci's theorisation of civil society in his *Prison Notebooks* (1971) is entwined with his concept of hegemony: he saw civil society as an integral part of the state. Far from being antagonistic towards the state, it is an invisible constitutive element, even though political society appears to be in the foreground. Organic relations between civil society and political society enable the exercise of power only for a certain strata of society. Thus, for Gramsci (1971:160-161), civil society is best described as the sphere of hegemony. Ideological hegemony, then, refers to the cultural and moral leadership exerted by the ruling class (in the case of Turkey there is a power struggle between Kemalist elites and conservative Islamists under the leadership of the ruling AKP) over citizens via institutions of civil society in order to ensure acceptance of the ruling class' policies. In the *Prison Notebooks*, civil society often appears as a function of the state, as mentioned in the frequently quoted statement: "State = political society + civil society" (Gramsci 1971:263).<sup>43</sup> Gramsci conceptualised civil society as a weapon to be deployed against the capitalist system, not only against its economic foundations, but also its ideological and cultural bases. He envisaged civil society as a central concept on the path to a socialist political, economic and cultural order.

### ***2.3.2 Civil Society in the Turkish EU Accession Process and Gramsci***

Civil society in Turkey has been growing in quantity since the 1980s and has undergone a major change after the recognition of Turkey as a candidate country by the EU. CSOs' activities range from issue-specific problems to macro issues such as Kemalism and Islam (Burak 2011). It has been mostly underlined that the political culture based on a strong state practice is softened and is marked with increasing political liberalism following the EU accession process (Grigoriadis:2009:3). Accordingly, the political culture protecting the state from individuals rather than individuals from the state is largely affected by the liberal elements

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<sup>43</sup> The following work follows the approach suggested by Gramsci. However, it is not my primary concern to add to his argumentation about communist society. I only borrow from Gramsci the idea of ideological hegemony in order to verify the intermingling of ideologies and their effect on the representations towards Europe and European Integration.

of the EU, and state interventions into civil society have decreased during the political liberalisation process. Adaptation to EU criteria meant a redefinition of the relationship between the state and society, and particularly the role of the military.

Civil society in Turkey is a problematic sphere and has been regarded having small influence as a consequence of Ottoman state/society relations or due to lingering traces of the Ottoman political culture (Heper 1985) as well as the bureaucratic centralisation culture and a top-down modernity processes stemming from the early years of the Republic (Bianchi 1984). In other words, Turkish civil society has traditionally been described as weak, and believed to be controlled by the state through corporatist structures (Kubicek 2005:366). The questionable status of the state-centric political tradition in Turkey increased the importance of civil society and given way to search for a new paradigm for state-society relations (Kubicek 2005:366). The hierarchical, patriarchal and authoritarian state structures known as the father state mostly impeded the development of a strong civil society that necessitates the bottom-up participation of citizens in the political decision mechanisms. In the 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, civil society became influential in the former Soviet republics and their development has also influenced the Turkish politics. The demands of political and economic liberalisation have been strengthened. Business associations have been regarded as leaders in this process in Turkey. The number of Islamic, Alevi, environmental, feminist and Kurdish CSOs has increased.<sup>44</sup>

Civil society became, as a concept and an analytical category, one of the most commonly used terms in social scientific discourses dealing with Turkey's social, political and economic transformation in the EU accession process. The debate about civil society in Turkey, which emerged during the late 1980s and early 1990s, interprets civil society mainly as a mechanism of democratisation against military interference in politics (see Dikici-Bilgin 2009:2). In other words, civil society is largely considered as balancing the strong state or the military presence in politics, where the military is the primary locus of strong state tradition. CSOs, according to this view, were the main players in the pro-EU coalition that emerged in the post-Helsinki period (Öniş 2003:29). Tocci (2005:80-81) notes that these were both subjects and objects in the reform process, because they pushed European integration forward and thereby gained power.

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<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, Kubicek maintains that many indicators such as membership, levels of interpersonal trust, funding, Turkish civil society remains weak in comparison to European countries.

Accordingly, civil society is central to democracy, but it is not reasonable to regard it as a counter-hegemonic force against the strong state tradition in Turkey or a way of balancing state power towards democratisation (see Yerasimos 2000 and Keyman and İçduygu 2003). First, power struggles within civil society do not necessarily lead to further democratisation of domestic politics. Second, the European discourse of an important part of civil society reflects discourses that are deeply rooted in Turkish political culture and official ideology or in Islamic and conservative thinking, and their understanding of modernity and democracy is not necessarily progressive. Thus, I argue that it is wrong to ascribe to the fact positivity to civil society because it contains not only democratic discourses, but also essentialist thought patterns that are expressed in nationalist, ethnic and religious forms (see Şimsek 2004; Keyman and İçduygu 2003:51). Hence, the intellectual roots of anti-European sentiments in Turkey come from an important part of civil society. The interwoven traditions of Islam, ethno-centrism, nationalism and the ideas of democracy and modernity have a strong influence on the extent and quality of CSOs' Euroscepticism. Moreover, an influential group of social scientists argue that the ruling AKP practices subtle discrimination among CSOs. If this is the case, then it is closer to those groups with which it sees ideological or political similarities (Göksel and Güneş 2005). In this case, an interdiscursivity between the government party and pro-AKP CSOs may be observable. These interactions do not only move from the state towards civil society in terms of the reproduction of values. There are also CSOs that interact closely with the state in order to define their own interests and ideologies. For example, as Ilker Atac et al. (2008:13) argue, the institutional elite character of Kemalism transformed itself with the popularisation of the official state discourse, in which the bureaucratic elite and the military played a controlling and productive role, forming them into a mass nationalist movement. The novelty of this development was that the carriers of Kemalist thought occupied the area of civil society as the sphere of political articulation. The representation of state ideology shifted to mass demonstrations, in which citizens defended state unity and secularism with flags and pictures of Atatürk against the Islamic threat to the Republic (Atac et al. 2008:14). Thus, politics became symbolic and in many demonstrations organised by CSOs during the AKP's time in power, the EU was also fiercely rejected. The demonstrations, called "Republican Rallies" against the policies of the ruling party were allegedly organised by groups who maintained ties to the military and strongly opposed the EU. On the other hand, social democrats accused the AKP of controlling the entire Turkish civil society and intending to transform Turkey's cultural

capital.<sup>45</sup> With this in mind, an influential group of social scientists argue that the AKP practices subtle discrimination among civil society organizations to strengthen its cultural and moral leadership. It is argued that the government is closer to those groups with which it has ideological or political similarities.<sup>46</sup>

Consequently, attitudes towards European Integration are affected by the power struggles within civil society, in which Kemalist, Islamic, conservative, nationalist and left-wing groups try to obtain the managing power of the accession process. Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony is useful for the purposes of this thesis because Gramsci sees political society reaching into civil society, as is the case in Turkey. A powerful bloc that opposes EU membership remains in Turkish civil society and other attitudes to Europe seem to function as instrumental. Öniş (2011:19-20) maintains that the demand for implementing the EU reform came from CSOs notably from business associations. However, he underscores the fact that not all business associations are equally positive towards the EU project. Examples of these organisations include TOBB and TISK.<sup>47</sup>

None of the liberal approaches note the power struggles taking place in civil society for ideological hegemony, which I see necessary for understanding civil society in Turkey. First and foremost, in the Turkish case, one should not consider that the concept of civil society will necessarily lead to democratisation. Secondly, state and civil society are not completely opposite spheres, meaning that the state and civil society are crucially linked, especially through political parties. Thirdly, one should pay special attention to authoritarian tendencies and the oppressive power of civil society. Finally, in relation to the first three considerations, civil society is not homogenous and exhibits separate political attitudes (Şimşek 2004, Beckman 1997).

There are a number of contemporary liberal approaches conceptualising civil society-state relations. However, the theoretical framework presented here for the Turkish civil society is not the classical liberal version, because none of these approaches account for the power

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<sup>45</sup> Recently, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said that his government wants to "raise a religious youth" and has characterised abortions a crime and spoken against Caesarean section. From now on, state-funded youth camps will be segregated by gender (Büyükbay 2012d)

<sup>46</sup> This has become more explicit when the AKP government supported the conservative Turkish charity named "Deniz Feneri" (Lighthouse), whose representatives are AKP members. Critics accuse the AKP of protecting the accomplices in the Lighthouse e.V. affair, the biggest charity corruption case in Germany's history, and using the embezzled money to support the AKP's political aims. The opposition party CHP argued that the money was utilised to support media close to the AKP. (CHP 2012, Büyükbay 2012d)

<sup>47</sup> Öniş (2011) analysed the reasons for the opposition to modern concepts such as cosmopolitan democracy and liberal internationalism in the Turkish setting. The pooling of sovereignty, decentralisation (meaning a downward allocation of authority towards regional and local authorities), transnationalisation of domestic politics are the main indicators in the analysis. The countries necessarily undergo these processes in the accession process.

struggles taking place in civil society over ideological hegemony, which I consider necessary to interpret civil society in Turkey and the European attitudes of its components. In order to be able to explain power struggles and their effects on representations of Europe and European integration, this thesis employs Gramsci's concept of ideological hegemony and a Gramscian approach to civil society. The importance of Gramsci's conception of civil society for the interpretation of current politics in Turkey is the fact that Gramsci does not handle civil society as a separate sphere. Rather, he describes it as a complex web of relationships between civil society and the state.

The reasons for investigating CSOs<sup>48</sup> in general and civil society elites in particular are also related to the political and social changes Turkey experienced since the 1980s, when CSOs started to actively participate in the public sphere and began participating in the processes of policy-making. The Global Habitat 2 conference held by the UN in Istanbul in 1996 provided an opportunity for Turkish CSOs to enter the political arena as well as helping bring civil society into the public consciousness and increasing its meaning for citizens (Göksel and Günes 2005). It has been regarded as a critical juncture as the participation of CSOs became apparent. Moreover, the 1999 earthquake in Turkey was another important case that stressed the importance of civil society being able to step in when the Turkish state was not able to solve the problems faced after the earthquake. Furthermore, it can be claimed that there is a reorganisation of the domestic political context. In addition to new social and political forces, the diversification of political power centres increases the importance of civil society in Turkey. The new focus of political analyses centres on the emergence of new power centres beyond traditional elites and their structural integration into the political system. This internal transformation process has contributed to many conflicts. The escalating power struggle between the old elites represented in particular by the military-bureaucratic camp and the new elites under the context of the ruling party AKP has raised many questions regarding the changes going on in society.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that Keyman and İçduygu (2003:222) link the transformations in civil society "to the changing meaning of modernity":

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<sup>48</sup> Despite the large number of CSOs, there are doubts about their quality. Most of them are considered to be non-political organisations (Kubicek 2005:362). Kubicek states that civil society exists more as a slogan than as reality. As Şimşek argues, the potential of CSOs to contribute to democratisation effectively is disputable as participation in these organisations and their influence is restricted (Şimşek 2004:48). Accordingly, in Turkey the qualities of a CSO are often not met. Because a large part of CSOs in Turkey are bound somehow to the state, and their organisational structures are non-democratic.



Civil society organizations and intellectuals agree that since the 1980s, the process of Turkish modernization involved new actors, new mentalities of development and new identity claims. This means first, the emergence of the critique of the status of the secular-rational thinking as the exclusive source of modernity in Turkey, and second, the increasing strength of Islamic discourse both as a 'political actor' and as a 'symbolic foundation' for identity formation (Keyman and İçduygu (2003:222).

Under the framework of the above excerpt, it is necessary to explain the developments in Turkish civil society. In terms of the contemporary civil society-state relations, there are multiple interpretations. On the one hand, it is argued that these relations have been more peaceful since the 1990s, which is conceptualised as reconciliation of the state with society as illustrated in the participation of civil servants and military staff in activities and festivals that are traditionally identified with minorities such as the Alevi Hacı Bektaş Festival and the Kurd's Nevroz (Şimşek 2004:68-69, see also Dikici-Bilgin 2009). Critical voices have argued that the Islamic organisations are still under pressure, and only those that identify themselves openly with Kemalism are allowed to be organised (Kubicek 2005).<sup>49</sup> However, in recent years the opposite is the case. Critics now argue that Kemalist organisations are under pressure and only those that identify themselves with Islam and the AKP are allowed to be organised. Before the dominance of the AKP in civil society, it was strongly criticised that some civil society organisations were cooperating with the military-bureaucratic elite against the rise of political Islam. During the political crisis over the Refah Partisi (A pro-Islamic party that was a coalition partner in the government in 1996-1997), the activities of the Civil Initiative Five, which is composed of trade and employer unions such as Türk-İs, DISK, TISK, TOBB and TESK, were accused of collaborating with the military elite in order to force the Refah parliamentarians to withdraw from the coalition.

CSOs articulate society's various ideological directions and political demands. Göle (1994) states that the growing importance of civil society in Turkey has led to the autonomisation of societal groups and cultural identities due to increasing political shift from the state to society. But, in Turkey, this development has not always been a positive sign for democratisation because of the use and abuse of civil society. Understanding the democratic and non-democratic, authoritarian, fundamentalist and ethno-nationalist discourses in civil society is extremely crucial. Keyman and İçduygu (2003:225) identify four factors that have influenced Turkish modernisation since the 1980s that have also contributed to the growing importance of civil society. First, the changing meaning of modernity led to the emergence

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<sup>49</sup> However, there have been a number of civil society organizations such Ak-Der, Özgür-Der and Mazlum-der that challenge the military-bureaucratic elite and struggle against prohibitions on veiling in public (Kadıoğlu 2005:37-38).

alternative modernities. The state-centric nature of Turkish modernity has been changed by the emergence of new actors and, accordingly, alternative visions of society, politics and identity. The changing nature of Islamic politics with the AKP and active CSOs claiming a new understanding of modernity that is not based on the state, but on local demands, contributed to the democratisation, liberalisation of state-society relations. Secondly, they mention that the shift towards civil society since the 1980s has changed the strong-state tradition in Turkey in which the state is seen as the primary political focus and locus. Thirdly, they mention the impact of the EU on Turkey's democratisation and the role of it in changing state-society relations in Turkey. Fourthly, they highlight the impact of globalisation. According to their views, these four factors increased the importance of civil society in Turkey. The transnationalisation of politics, the increasing role of the EU in shaping Turkish politics and the changing nature of the Turkish state have resulted the active participation of the CSOs in politics and sound their agendas including specific issues such as peace, environment, human rights, gender and ethnicity. These CSOs<sup>50</sup> increased the role of fact-based politics in the Turkish politics and enhanced the democratisation process by being politically active in a participatory and non-hierarchical way. On the other hand, CSOs with big societal visions offered ones that are not necessarily democratic. This understanding suggests that CSOs have been playing a vital role in the relations between the EU and Turkey as key actors of modernisation, liberalisation and democratisation:

The discourse of civil society has been normatively supported and actively promoted in academic and public life in Turkey during the 1990s. Thus, civil society organizations have gained a political actor-like quality with normative and discursive power, influencing us to rethink the state-society/individual relations beyond the strong-state tradition. (Keyman, İçduygu 2003:221)

Some CSOs are rather ideologically oriented while others are rather apolitical. Most of the CSOs have a clear societal vision: Kemalist, left-wing, pro-Kurdish or Islamic. Several represent ethnic and religious minorities. As Duncker (2007) notes, their understanding of human rights largely differs from one another. She also highlights a discursive shift by the Islamic human rights groups in engaging in the European Integration process. This new

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<sup>50</sup> CSOs may use the EU for instrumental reasons such as to raise awareness or make the government to change its policies. This was analysed in a study that investigates how domestic actors use international actors for their own domestic purposes by focussing on the interactions between CSOs and government officials (Alemdar 2009). It is argued that CSOs attempt to influence the policies of the government through the IGOs. Hence, in Turkish case, too it is impossible to make an artificial separation between domestic and international politics. In this research both instrumental (not only in economic but also political sense) and normative arguments to explain the European discourses of Turkish civil society.

orientation of Muslim human rights organisations strengthened the doubts of Kemalists about Europe and European values, as they worry about the growing influence of Islamic groups in the European Integration Process. Although it seems that the reduced role of the army in the Turkish political system led to a more democratic country, Kemalists suspect that the Islamists take advantage of this to further their own interests. The fact that the EU does not consider the danger of Islamisation in Turkey is unacceptable to the Kemalists.

Islamic-inspired NGOs, on the contrary, blame the EU for having sided against Islam and for systematically ignoring violations of the Sunni majority's religious rights. Furthermore, they criticize that the secular European value system is imposed on a dominantly Islamic society in a culture imperialist way. Since NGO's are not able to fall back on financial or military resources, they exert influence primarily through discursive means (Duncker 2007:12).

This leads to a short discussion of the European accession process and the CSOs. With the official start of membership negotiations between Turkey and the EU on 3 October 2005, the forty-year-old Turkey-EU relations reached an advanced level and the difficult accession negotiations process started. This process is a one that requires broad participation not only from the state, but also from social forces such as political parties and CSOs. As noted above, the EU gives considerable weight to the development of civil society in candidate countries. Consequently, it is imperative that CSOs participate in the decision mechanisms as a mediator of opinion, demands and reservations so that different stakeholders may have their voices heard. It is widely accepted that the form and ratio of participation is an indicator for the quality of democracy in a particular country. In this context, it is worth noting that CSOs in Turkey have been strengthened throughout the EU accession process. Because the EU evaluates CSOs as free and independent, participating in decision-making will lead to different groups and tendencies being heard, thus strengthening pluralist democracy. Accordingly, for the sake of the quick and efficient conformity of Turkish civil society to the EU, the Programme for the Development of Civil Society (STGP) was started by the EU in 2001 to develop the capacities of civil society in Turkey and to increase its role in democratisation.<sup>51</sup> The EU launched projects and demonstrated great interest to engage CSOs in the accession process actively. CSOs have participated in various conferences and activities, and engaged in projects with European

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<sup>51</sup> This programme has five different parts: local-civilian initiatives, the continuation of Turkish-Greek civic dialogue, the development of dialogue and capacity among trade unions, the development of dialogues between trade and industry chambers with those in the EU, and police professionalism. The EU Civil Society Development Programme (CSDP) is to enhance the influence of the NGOs (e.g. fundraising, employment, project implementation) and enable citizen participation. 8 million euro was allocated for these aims in 2003-2004. Funding for both political and apolitical projects has been given out ranging from bird-watching programme to supporting the Circassia Cultural Association, Alevi organisations or the Women Solidarity Foundation.

partners. In 2004, the EU started another project to enhance NGO-public sector cooperation. CSOs have gained legitimacy and credibility through co-operation with their European partners. Meeting the EU criteria has been a tool to connect different elements of civil society. The more liberal Law on Associations<sup>52</sup> reduced the state penetration into civil society, and also removed restrictions of contact with foreign NGOs.

Political discourse concerning the systemic transformation of Turkey gave civil society a central role and increasingly used it in the context of European integration, strengthening civil society actors. Firstly, they become transnationalised to enter EU-funded networks and CSO projects. Secondly, EU funding enabled them to become stronger financially and increase their influence. Both legislative changes and financial aid are factors of the EU that have improved civil society in Turkey. Small CSOs receive support for their projects, their implementation and fundraising. The EU aimed to normalise state-society relations and, in so doing, improve Turkish democracy.

### ***2.3.3 Categories of CSOs and Case Selection***

Whilst planning and designing the research, sample representation was one of the most important theoretical and methodological issues. How can I cover in an objective manner the main tendencies in Turkish civil society regarding their attitudes to Europe and the EU? Which relevant criteria can be formulated in order to determine the representativeness of a sample of CSO leaders? Apparently, the strength of a CSO is based on many variables such as the financial resources, membership profile, networking capabilities, appearance in the media etc. Therefore, I have taken such variables into consideration in selecting the cases.

In selecting the cases, I examined more than twenty articles that have selected the most important CSOs for their own research in the Turkish context. After analysing various documents and articles about Turkish civil society, I classified CSOs in Turkey into eight different categories. From each category, CSOs were selected on the basis of a combination of three qualitative criteria:

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<sup>52</sup> The push of the European Union towards reformation of legal norms in which civil society actions were influential in changing the legal framework. The weaknesses in the Associations Law, the Foundations Law, Law of Assembly and Demonstration were continuously mentioned by the Progress reports. The 2002 Regular Report mentioned these weaknesses, and the government reacted accordingly with the seventh EU harmonisation package changing the Law of Association. It included improving relations with international organisations. The 2003 Progress Report appreciated these developments, but also mentioned problems regarding religious minorities (European Commission 2003). In 2004, the new law on associations was adapted and described by the 2004 Progress Report as important in restraining state interference in the activities of associations.

1. Consultations with academics and experts doing research on civil society in Turkey
2. An analysis of their presence in the scientific articles that indicates influence of the CSOs on political debates
3. Involvement of the CSOs with the European issues and their ethnic and ideological orientation.

In regard to the case selection, for research purposes, I paid special attention to ensuring that Kemalist, Islamic, Kurdish and Alevi organizations had at least one representative. Thus, they are, according to the advice by Eckstein (1975:118), ‘crucial cases’ for my theory.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, the case selection was checked with the largest CSO databases: STGM (Civil Society Development Center) and CSO Information Center at the History Foundation of Turkey.

In general, I conducted interviews with one executive with either the leader or one of the three highest-ranking individuals in the organisations listed. Influential social scientists claim that not all civil society actors have been supportive of the European Integration Process. To illustrate, in comparison to business associations that have triggered the accession process, most of the labour unions have been critical towards the European Integration (Keyman and İcduygu 2003). Therefore, I concentrated mainly on trade unions rather than business associations. Table 4 shows the types of CSOs included in the study:

**Table 4: Types of CSOs included in the study**

1. Professional organisations
2. Employers’ organisations
3. Trades unions
4. Human rights organisations
5. Ethnic, cultural and religious-based organisations
6. Organisations working in the fields of poverty, education, environment and health
7. Womens’ organisations
8. Ideology-based organisations

The first group consists of professional organisations:

- TBB (Union of Turkish Bar Associations)
- IBB (Istanbul Bar Association)

<sup>53</sup> Most of the CSOs take a clear position on political and religious issues. In a rough division, I classify them as Islamic, conservative, social democratic, Kemalist, liberal, left-wing and Kurdish CSOs. Moreover, there are several minority organizations representing the Alevis or other ethnic or religious minorities. An important group of social scientists state that “the common thread of meeting the EU criteria has helped link together often disparate (liberal, secular, Kurdish, religious, Kemalist) elements in Turkish civil society” (Kubicek 2005: 370), which is proven in this thesis after a deeper examination of the discourses as a rather superficial statement.

- TMOBB CMO (Chamber of Environmental Engineers)
- TTB (Turkish Medical Association)

The second group consists of employers' organisations:

- TISK (Turkish Confederation of Employers' Unions)

The third group consists of trades unions:

- TÜRK-İS (Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions), a major right-wing trade union
- DISK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey), a major left-wing trade union
- HAK-İS (Confederation of Turkish Righteous Trade Unions)
- MEMUR-SEN (Confederation of Public Servants' Trade Unions)
- EGİTİM-SEN (Education and Science Worker's Union)
- KESK (Confederation of Public Workers Unions)
- KAMU-SEN (Public Workers Union)

The fourth group consists of human rights organisations:

- İHD (The Human Rights Association)
- Mazlum-Der (The Association for Human Rights and Solidarity with the Oppressed)
- TIHV (The Human Rights Foundation)

The fifth group consists of ethnic, cultural and religious-based CSOs:

- AVF (Federation of Alevi Foundations)
- Erenler Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı (Erenler Education and Culture Foundation)
- ABF (Alevi-Bektasi Federation)
- RDF (Roman Associations Federation)
- Türk Musevi Cemaati (Turkish Jewish Community)
- DISA (Diyarbakir Institute for Political and Social Research)
- Hrant Dink Vakfı (Hrant Dink Foundation)

The sixth area consists of CSOs working in the field of poverty, education, environment and health:

- Deniz Feneri Dernegi (Lighthouse Association)

The seventh category consists of women's organisations:

- AKDER (Association for Women's Rights and Anti-Discrimination)
- KADER (Association to Support Women Candidates)

The eighth category consists of ideology-based organisations:

- SODEV (Social Democracy Foundation)
- ADD (Atatürk Thought Association)
- ÇYDD (Association to Support Modern Life)  
[ADD and ÇYDD are the largest and most developed Kemalist CSOs]
- GYV (The Journalists' and Writers' Foundation)
- ÖZGÜRDER (The Association for the Freedom of Thought and Education)

The eight different categories of CSOs will be briefly explained. The first category constitutes professional CSOs. Professional CSOs were politically active in the late 1990s active and involved in overthrowing governments. Some of these groups played important role

during the 28 February Process in the overthrow of the Refah-Yol coalition.<sup>54</sup> Employer organisations fall in the second category. TISK was already politically active before the 1980s. The third civil society group is the employee organisations and trades unions. The active trades union confederations such as TÜRK-İS, DISK and HAK-İŞ represent more than 2 million members. The most basic functions of an employees' organisation is to protect the rights of their members against employers. Hence, they have important functions in pressurising the business world and governments to improve living standards, to ensure social protection for the workers. In addition to the workers' unions there are the influential civil servants' unions such as KAMU-SEN and MEMUR-SEN that are able to bring large numbers of people together. There are six major labour confederations in Turkey. The fourth group consists of CSOs working in the field of human rights and freedoms. The Human Rights Association and Mazlum-Der are associations that attract much attention both in Turkey and at the international level. These associations catalogue human rights abuses and periodically publish them, bringing public attention to those issues. They also offer help to victims of human rights and try to protect them against the state. After a close examination of articles relating to this field (Duncker 2007), I selected the most prominent Turkish CSOs working in this field. The fifth group consists of CSOs that are focussed on ethnic and cultural rights. When the Kurdish issue and Alevi issue after 1980 came on the agenda, identity discussions started and continue to echo both in the national and international domains. The sixth area consists of CSOs working in the field of poverty, such as the Deniz Feneri Dernegi (Lighthouse Association). The seventh category are women's organisations. The eighth category is comprised of ideology-based groups such the ADD and CYDD, which evolved in the 1980s.

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<sup>54</sup> The Refah-Yol government was overthrown through the support of TÜSIAD, TISK; TESK, TÜRK-İS AND DISK. Cizre and Cinar (2003:309) explain the 28 February Process in the following important excerpt: "...on February 28, 1997, the military-dominated National Security Council (NSC) issued the Refahyol coalition government with a list of measures designed to nullify the supposed Islamisation of Turkey and fortify the secular system. Subsequent pressure from the NSC, in tandem with the civilian component of the secular establishment, led to the collapse of the coalition government in June 1997. The ousting of the Refahyol government signalled the start of the military's plan to refashion Turkey's political landscape along Kemalist lines without actually having to take over power directly. Hence, the phrase "28 February Process" was coined to indicate not only the far-reaching implications of NSC decisions, but also the suspension of normal politics until secular correction was completed. This process has profoundly altered the formulation of public policy and the relationship between state and society. No major element of Turkish politics at present can be understood without referring to the 28 February Process."

## 2.4 Towards a Theoretical Framework

The multi-theoretical framework for the comprehensive analysis of civil society elites' attitudes towards the EU and European integration in this study is depicted in Table 5:

**Table 5: Multi-theoretical framework: Preliminary model for analysing Euroscepticism in Turkish civil society**

Theory	Aspects of Explanation
Euroscepticism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Model for structuring the attitudes towards the European Union/European Integration (Euroenthusiast, Europragmatist, Eurorejectionist, Europragmatist)</li> <li>Other causal factors (Political, cultural, value-based, utilitarian Euroscepticism)</li> </ul>
Occidentalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The role of the general attitudes towards the West and Europe in constructing Euroscepticism</li> <li>The dual character of Western representations and the power dimension of the construction of the West and their affects on Euroscepticism</li> </ul>
Civil Society from a Gramscian Perspective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hegemonic struggles in the domain of civil society in the ideological sense and their effects on Euroscepticism, construction of meanings on the basis of political struggles<sup>55</sup></li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;">Country specific context factors</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Examples: Cyprus case, Armenian issue, Privileged partnership)</p>	

Euroscepticism greatly differs according to country context, and it is necessary to take context factors specific to Turkey into consideration (see Büyükbay and Merdzanovic 2012). The Cyprus issue, Armenian issue, Article 301, human rights and the rights of minorities – all of these policy domains are prioritised by the EU conditionality in the EU's annual progress reports and there has been considerable resistance to reforms in these domains. Furthermore, exogenous factors such as the privileged partnership issue created a sense of unfair treatment by the EU, which can be taken as an important possible source of Euroscepticism in Turkish



civil society and was scrutinised throughout the interview data.<sup>56</sup> The listed issue areas and country-specific context factors will be examined in addition to other possible reasons for the Euroscepticism, such as underlying Western representations, the role of cultural and religious differences, fear of loss of national sovereignty and national identity, the perceived costs and gains of membership (utilitarian assessments are not only conducted in the economic sense but also in political terms), and power relations and hegemonic struggles in civil society.

### ***Hypotheses***

In seeking to understand Euroscepticism in civil society discourse, a basic set of hypotheses has been generated from the fundamental assumptions underlying the literature on Euroscepticism and Occidentalism and the critical Gramscian approach to civil society. From these theories and their considerations, I have derived the following three main hypotheses for the thesis:

From public and party-based Euroscepticism literature, the following hypothesis can be adapted:

*H1a: Taking the discursive shift into account, conservative and Islamic CSO leaders are Europragmatists rather than Eurorejectionist. However, Islamic CSOs are prone to cultural Euroscepticism because of their stress on religion and civilisational differences. Thus, the EU is constructed discursively as a cultural-civilizational entity rather than a political structure.*

*H1b: Kemalist and social democratic civil society leaders oppose ideas underlying European integration and the EU mainly on the basis of political Euroscepticism based on the fear of loss of sovereignty and stress on national identity. In other words, since their political stance is*

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<sup>56</sup> Other context factors specific to Turkey that cause Euroscepticism are listed below (Büyükbay and Merdzanovic 2012):

- Uncertainty of the accession process (open-ended accession negotiations)
- Limitations of the EU on agricultural subsidies
- Restrictions on free movement of persons and regional development
- Absorption capacity of the EU as a special condition for Turkey, statements made by presidents of EU member states (especially by former French President Nicolas Sarkozy and German Chancellor Angela Merkel)

*grounded on a strong overlap between the state and the nation, European integration is perceived as a challenge to both state and nation.*

*H1c: Civil-society-based Euroscepticism would confirm suggestions in the literature that the presence of Euroscepticism is found further from the centre in a left-right party dimension (Hooghe et al. 2002). Opposition is strongest among the radical right-wing due to the strength of nationalism among such CSOs. The radical left is Eurorejectionist due to their opposition to the centrality of neo-liberal policies in European integration process. There appear to be no complications in assuming that Eurosceptic CSOs can be drawn from both the radical left and radical right in society and not from the mainstream.*

*H1e: Thus, in Turkish civil society, a utilitarian perspective based on the opportunity structures theory has its limits, which are rather secondary to ideological, religious and identity-related variables.*

From the Gramscian approach to Turkish civil society, the following hypothesis can be considered:

*H2a: The CSO leaders in question have been affected by and involved in the hegemonic struggles going on in Turkey that effect the discourse on the EU and the EU integration process. In other words, the power consolidation struggles at the national level manifest themselves in their perceptions. The attitude of the EU towards those power struggles influences the Euroscepticism of the CSO leaders from different camps.*

*H2b: Political Parties (Kurdish, Islamic-conservative, Kemalist) and CSOs follow a similar line of argumentation and demonstrate the same type of Euroscepticism because of ideological affiliation (ideological-political continuity) and the penetration of political parties into civil society. Thus, I expect strong interdiscursivity from the opposition party CHP by Kemalist and social democrat CSOs and the ruling AKP by Islamic and conservative CSOs regarding attitudes towards the EU and European integration.*

From the Occidentalism literature, the following hypothesis can be drawn:

*H3: Civil society leaders' perceptions are strongly influenced by their general perceptions of the West. Eurosceptic discourses are rooted in a broader cultural and ideological view of Europe as "the Other", both as an object of desire and frustration. Collective perceptions of Europe inherited from the Turkish nation-building processes and from the historical*

*relationship between the EU and Turkey influence attitudes towards European integration. Thus pre-existing perceptions of Europe have a strong influence on the construction of Euroscepticism.*

To sum up, from a review of the Euroscepticism, Occidentalism and Civil Society literature there is a clear set of fundamental assumptions that can be utilised to study its occurrence in civil society. These hypotheses will be investigated by means of a qualitative analysis based on a mixture of interviews with senior members of the CSO leadership, surveys and secondary literature reviews.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

In this chapter, I will present the study's research design and methodology. Firstly, I will focus on the methods of data collection and case selection. Secondly, I will explain the methods of data analysis.

#### ***3.1. Process of data collection and case selection***

In this section, the phases of the qualitative interviewing will be presented and an overview given of the interviewing process and of the nature of the data. The method of establishing the data, together with detailed explanations on the process of selection of the data corpus, on the selection of interviewees, on the circumstances of the interviews, their length, nature and problems that have arisen. The topic guide, recording and transcription practices and the process of analysis will be introduced.

Due to a possible lack of data on the attitudes of CSOs towards the EU and Europe in the media or in published documents, a semi-structured interview as a type of qualitative interview was employed.<sup>57</sup> Compared with the use of political speeches and debates, qualitative interviews pose particular advantages in discourse research. The narratives and orientations of speakers are most often best revealed in the interview data (Howarth and Torfing 2005:338). The conversational nature of the interview also enabled me to produce the discourse through interacting with the respondent. Alternative constructions may occur in more flexible, private and unofficial settings. The semi-structured interviews conducted for this thesis employed topical frames to structure the general themes of the conversation whilst providing free room for the interviewee. These topical frames consisted of the respondents' definition of Europe and the EU. Special attention was paid to contact with members of civil society leadership which can validly claim to represent their respective CSO.

The key aim of the fieldwork, which took place in Istanbul and Ankara between January 2012 and July 2012, was to unpack the contents and learn more about Turkish civil society leaders' discourses about Europe and the European Union. Before the interview, preparations were made for encountering particular difficulties with regard to the power configuration. I chose possible respondents and constructed a topic guide for the semi-structured interview, determined the agenda of issues that are nonetheless open to development.

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<sup>57</sup> I tried to allow the respondents to speak as freely as possible, but stay focussed on a certain issues. When carrying out interviews, the researcher must have a preliminary understanding of the theoretical-scientific phenomenon to be examined prior to starting the data collection phase (Lamnek 2005:363-364).

The sampling methods for selecting the interviewees were a combination of elements of purposive sampling and cascading. In purposive sampling the respondents are selected on the basis of how they fit a particular profile that is important for the aims of the research. Although such non-random methods may cause selection bias, the use of random sampling in small-n research is likely to generate more serious biases (King et al. 1994). In other words, when the number of interviews is too small to be statistically significant, the probability for chance outcomes is higher. In such circumstances, it is advisable to instead establish a rationale for purposive sampling. Cascading refers to a method where interviewees offer suggestions for further interviews as well as help with contacting future interviewees. The interviewer, quite literally, cascades from one interview to the next. Such selection methods were useful in targeting key respondents whose contributions would be highly relevant to the research.

An open and semi-structured guide is used as the survey instrument. Mayer (2008:37) argues that this allows concrete information on the research subject to be received whilst providing data comparability.<sup>58</sup> The topic guide is composed of a combination of closed and open questions, and was pre-tested in a pilot study through an interview with a high official from the EU Ministry, through an interview with an EU expert and consultant of TISK, and via a renowned Professor of Turkey-EU relations. The pilot study aimed to adjust the analytical instruments and helped detail the hypotheses and fix the CSO classification criteria. Accordingly, I could assess whether the research was workable and evaluate the proposed data analysis techniques to uncover potential problems. The topic guide for my study has been elaborated through a mixture of theory-led questions and inductive elaboration of relevant questions. I operationalize the theory-led elements (see some of the crucial theory-led questions in Appendix 1), translated them into everyday language and broke them down into a series of interview questions. There were five key sections, each divided into a further five subtopics. These sections include questions on context factors elaborated in the theory chapter, on the

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<sup>58</sup> Examples of Open and Closed Questions in the Research:

- Specifically, do you favour Turkey eventually joining the EU, and are you hopeful about this happening in the near future?
- What is the main reason that Turkey has not been admitted into the European Union?
- What benefits and costs do you see arising from eventual full membership?
- Do you believe that Turkey will lose its national identity and culture by joining the EU?
- Do you believe that there is a West-East distinction? And where does Turkey stand in this divide?
- What do you think about AKP's EU policy in recent years?
- Is it possible for Turkey to take part in any union other than the EU?
- Which groups in Turkish society do you perceive as being opposed to Turkey's joining the EU as a full member?

perception of the Europe/West as mentioned in the Occidentalism literature and on attitudes towards the EU and European Integration.

These interviews helped me to illuminate the European discourses of civil society leaders embracing different political ideologies. Furthermore, the interviews seek to reveal the meaning of Euroscepticism in the subjects' minds. It was also quite important which thematic areas they stressed, and for what reasons they showed scepticism.<sup>59</sup> The number of interviews to be conducted was decided beforehand in relation to the availability of resources and the overall planning of the research. I searched for interviewees representing different ideological and cultural groups, and checked the added value of each interview against the previous ones in terms of interpretative frames, representations of Europe, the EU and the West, and opinions about European integration. After conducting 30 interviews in Istanbul and Ankara, the added value of each new informant decreased significantly, indicating that the study was close to the saturation point (Glaser and Straus 1967). New informants mentioned similar topics or concerns, and adopted similar rhetoric strategies. In some cases, even their direct quotes were significantly similar. This makes me confident that 30 interviews are enough to analyse the variety and complexity of European discourses of civil society leaders. A chain referral method is used to ensure that a variety of CSOs were included in the sample. Interviews were conducted in a variety of settings, often at the interviewee's place of work or, in some cases, in the interviewee's home. The interviewer presented himself as a researcher and explained that he doing a study on European attitudes about the EU and their experiences with it.

I started the research interviews in Istanbul. As the research evolved, I pursued different paths to ensure the scientific quality of my research process and broadened the scope of the CSOs. The decision to broaden the scope was due to the fact that during the fieldwork, it became increasingly clear that the aims of the research did not require a focus on any particular type of CSO; rather, the central aim was to cast a wider net to include different types of reactions and experiences that had emerged in relation to the accession process as a discursive construction in civil society. Broadening the organisational focus also helped with my efforts to triangulate data. Wherever possible, I tried to ensure that each opinion expressed in this thesis originated from more than one respondent with similar ideological backgrounds and perceptions of Europe. The conclusions also draw on responses from more than one group of CSOs leaders, ensuring that the issues are not specific to only certain kinds of CSO.

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<sup>59</sup> A topic guide demonstrating the overview of these interviews is included in the Appendices.

The interviews were conducted in Turkish and are semi-structured – neither a closed questionnaire nor an open, everyday conversation.<sup>60</sup> Qualitative, semi-structured interviews seem well placed to enable access to the type of information required for solving the research challenge presented here. In addition to factual information, semi-structured interviews can provide insights into the context within which the interaction and decision-making among the different actors takes place. Each respondent offers certain views, interpretations and understandings that are shaped by their position in the social context under investigation (Mason 2002). It was attempted to make sure that the interviews remained open to unexpected phenomena, rather than having ready-made schemes (Kvale; Brinkmann 2009:28). The interviews were very helpful in discovering the immediate experiences of the interviewees tied to scepticism of the EU and deeply held beliefs about Europe. By interviewing members of the elites, I had privileged access to the basic experience of the elites in the current political situation in Turkey and their perceptions of Europe.<sup>61</sup>

All of the interviews were focused on leaders of Turkish CSOs that can represent the CSOs' attitudes towards the EU and Europe. Where possible, the interviewees were chief executives, or equivalent. In two cases where this was not possible, I interviewed programme directors. To ensure the representative role of the interviewee for the CSO's views on the topic, I asked for president of the CSO to affirm the representative role of the executive I interviewed. Moreover, given the strong leadership culture in Turkey, it was reasonable to ask CSO leaders about their attitudes towards the European integration process. As the interviewees were members of the elite, obtaining access to the interviewees was a key problem. Most of them were quite used to being interviewed, and explained their direct experiences of the EU accession process.

The topic guide evolved once a series of interviews had been initiated. It was based on a mixture of theory-led reflection and inductive elaboration of relevant questions. The theory-led elements were operationalised by translating them into everyday language and broken down into a series of interview questions. The guide was edited in order to make it readable under conditions of stress and tiredness. Not all questions were listed. The guide was pre-tested and

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<sup>60</sup> I consider knowledge produced from the interview to be pragmatic because “Today, the legitimacy question of whether a study is scientific, or whether it leads to true knowledge, tends to be replaced by the pragmatic question of whether it provides useful knowledge. Good research is research that works... There is an insistence in pragmatism that ideas and meanings derive their legitimacy from enabling us to cope with the world in which we find ourselves” (Kvale, Brinkmann 2009:56). Hence, interviewing is interpreted as a craft, as a knowledge-producing activity and as a social practice (Kvale, Brinkmann 2009:17).

<sup>61</sup> Consequently, carrying the direct experiences and their influences on the perception of the elites may have contributed greatly to modelling and theorising endeavours in Euroscepticism field.

reviewed before the interviews were commenced. As an interpretive analyses was planned mainly open questions that invite the interviewee to elaborate were chosen and the order of questions was very important. Open questions were asked before specific questions. The interviewer avoided imposing his own categorizations in the early stages of the interview, avoided leading questions, obscure formulations and abstract vocabulary and silence was used where appropriate (Hermanowicz 2005, Ritchie and Lewis 2003). “Why” and “how” questions are important so that the respondent taps into the system of meaning.

All of the interviews were recorded, supplemented by notes that were taken during the interviews. At the beginning of each interview, the participants were informed about the purpose and the procedures of the research project and were provided with information about confidentiality. As soon as possible after the interview, the notes would be consolidated with the recording and a detailed account of the interview typed out. In the case of Jewish community, extensive notes were made during the interview, which were then typed out in full as soon as possible after the interview. The starting point was an easy and open question; sensitive questions were asked in the second half of the interview. Responses were recorded fully and in open categories. Conformity with the general principles of “great interviewing” were sought (Hermanowicz 2002) and content “mapping” and “mining” questions were asked (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). Given the potential for harm to the interviewees and to protect confidentiality as some of the respondents requested this, it was decided to keep the interviews anonymous. Once other interviewees were told that the material would be kept anonymous, the interview situation seemed to relax and the willingness of respondents to reveal information increased. These observations concur with findings elsewhere on the impact of anonymity on respondents’ willingness to reveal information. Hence, in this thesis interviewees are not mentioned by name but by code. When publishing the study, the consequences could have been harmful for the subjects and for the groups they represent in the current political atmosphere in Turkey.

Understanding Euroscepticism from the subject’s point of view was attempted, namely from that of the CSO leadership. The knowledge is constructed in the interactive process between interviewer and interviewee. Answers were followed-up, specifics were requested and the answers of the interviewee tested with different counter-questions. In some cases, the interviewer was asked “dont you think that am I not right?” and a form of confirmation requested. In these cases, this was answered with silence and the interviewer continued with relevant questions. Sometimes the interviewer moved away from neutrality and confronted the accounts of interviewees critically. I followed up on their answers, tried to clarify and extend



their arguments. This followed the posing critical questions. Interruption was avoided and advices given by some interviewees was responded to with silence. A crucial issue during the interviews was that some leaders became angry, when a term was included in the questions that they do not believe to be true.<sup>62</sup> Hence, the interviewees were very suspicious because of the chaotic political atmosphere in Turkey and the secretaries asked for detailed descriptions of the interviewer's background, for what purposes was the study being undertaken and which other CSOs were going to be interviewed. Situations were avoided that would create conflict, provoke anxiety and evoke defence mechanisms in the interviewee and would disturb the interview. Rather, the interviewer tried to act in a harmonious and diplomatic way.<sup>63</sup> As the interviewer grew up in Istanbul and studied political science in Ankara, there was a familiarity with Turkish politics and the behaviour codes of the interviewees including an ability to interpret facial expressions and other bodily gestures. Understanding of what is actually being said and the underlying meaning behind it was sought so more questions could be asked and questions could be confirmed and disconfirmed by the interviewee. No presuppositions were brought to the interview and some necessary questions which believed to be very important for the case in hand. Due to familiarity with Turkish politics, about the interviewer was aware of the sensitivities of the interviewees, and issues that may create anger in them.

Research interviews are not a dominance-free zone of consensus and empathy (Kvale, Brinkmann 2009:33). Hence, some power asymmetries may arise from the status, age of the interviewee or a hidden agenda followed by the researcher in order to obtain some specific information. Nevertheless, my being a PhD student at a renowned university in Switzerland that has a positive image in Turkey led my interviewees to exhibit trust in my scientific knowledge and personality. Contrary to methodological positivism, which follows certain rules that are largely independent of the case investigated and of the context, I did not try to eliminate my subjectivity in knowledge production and had a context-based approach, accepting knowledge

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<sup>62</sup>An Islamic organization leader asked irritated what "national sovereignty" means and highlighted that, according to their conceptualisations, such a word does not exist. A leftist elite asked in an aggressive way if Turkey has an independent foreign policy. With organisations close to the AKP, I used the term "AK Party" (AK means white in Turkish and has a positive connotation). With anti-AKP organisations, I said AKP because they prefer to use this label and may have misunderstand my preferences, if I did not spoken in this manner.

<sup>63</sup>Almost every interviewee tried to guess what kind of political orientation I had: Kemalist, leftist, moderate liberal, conservative or Islamic. I tried in different ways to underline that I am a neutral researcher who wants finish his thesis and contribute to the field of European Integration Studies. They were sceptical until they understood that I didn't ask threatening questions at the beginning. I could not ask the elites closely linked to the AKP if the AKP was using the EU, because that would have created great distrust and even led to the interruption of the interview.

as contextual. Asking control questions during the interview facilitated the validation of the results.

Throughout the interview processes, the interaction with the interviewees altered and extended the interviewer's perception of Euroscepticism. They brought new and unexpected aspects of Euroscepticism that is in line with the purpose of this explorative study, discovering new dimensions of the phenomenon investigated. The interviewer interpreted then the meaning of what the interviewee had said on the subject. The interviewer asked whether his interpretation corresponds with what the interviewee had said on the topic and asked the interviewee to explain more in detail. Firstly, the complete interview texts transcribed were read to get a sense of the whole. Secondly, meaning condensation followed, namely translating the texts into shorter formulations. After the structuring phase, meaning interpretation followed. Biased subjectivity and perspectival subjectivity were avoided and counter-evidence was not ignored. In the presentation of the findings/analysis, the analysis was documented meticulously to ensure that others can retrace the original source of all quotes, in order to make it transparent. Some problems with "grey zones" had to be dealt with and also exceptions in my data (See Hammersley and Roger 2009, Ritchie and Lewis 2003).

In addition, a survey was conducted of CSO leaders' views on different topics related to Europe and the EU in order to strengthen internal validity and to triangulate the data. Despite the different paradigmatic assumptions, using questionnaires to check the interviews clarified statements and discursive constructions. This was comprised of a short questionnaire read to all leaders to see whether they were in conflict with statements they made during the interview. However, seven of the 31 respondents refused to answer the questions either due to time limits or because they felt like they were being treated like research subjects and found that disrespectful. 24 out of 31 answered the survey. The survey in its entirety can be found in the appendices.

After the interview I transcribed data and discussed confidentiality issues. I used *Full* transcripts, meaning full and faithful transcription of everything that was said (and possibly of non-verbal material as well), including repetitions, unfinished sentences, hesitations and fillers. I chose this degree of detail in order to fill my exact needs. Following a period of coding, Reports were then generated that collected all interview material in one document per code. These documents were then used as the basis for the data analysis given in the empirical chapters.

The interviews had both explorative and hypothesis-testing purposes. Its semi-structured form made it easier to compare the discourses among the different interviewees. On

the one hand, the form inductively tries to develop an empirically grounded model for Eurosceptic attitudes in civil society. On the other hand, it seeks deductively test the implications of Occidentalism, Euroscepticism and the Gramscian approach to civil society. It can also be used as background material for further practical and theoretical studies. The existing knowledge about Euroscepticism in Turkey is too narrow and models of Euroscepticism do not allow for the taking of situational peculiarities into consideration. I know the power structures, and this enabled me to better understand what the interviewees explained. The critical perspective should remain on the knowledge produced through the research, and situational factors should not be disregarded when applying theories to the Turkish context. Another important point is the ethical issues of interviewing. I believe that research in the social sciences should serve both human and scientific interests. The social contributions of this study and the value of the knowledge produced are two major concerns for this study. What one can do in the data analysis phase of one's research depends on the quality of the data that one has generated ("garbage in, garbage out"). I have explained my choices in my methods chapter and discuss why it I deemed it appropriate for the type of analysis I was making.

### ***3.2 Data analysis process***

In this part, I shall present the methods of data analysis. Basically, I have made use of the one methodological perspective outlined in this dissertation: the Critical Discourse Analysis. With this in mind, I initially employed qualitative content analysis in order to make a preliminary categorisation of the discourses, focussing on content (Mayring 2000) and utilising the survey results. At the beginning of my analysis, I used the fourfold model developed by Kopecky and Mudde (2002) and applied deductively derived categories to the data. Here, the main task was to give explicit category definitions, examples and coding rules to ascertain under what conditions a discourse could be coded within a category (see Table 5). The identification of the positions using Kopecky and Mudde's categories (2002) necessitates a category-based approach and a step-by-step analysis of the material following clear procedural rules by assigning the data into content analytical units.

Nevertheless, content analysis is not appropriate for an in-depth analysis of Western perceptions and the effects of power relations on Euroscepticism in Turkish civil society because it does not focus on extra-linguistic social variables, power relations and the socio-political context. CDA is a more suitable method to focus on these dimensions for three reasons. Firstly, in the Theory Chapter, I identified the importance of context factors leading to Euroscepticism in Turkey, and so utilised Wodak's discourse analysis (2001) because context

and power are its central concepts. Secondly, by employing CDA, I focussed on the questions of how and why Euroscepticism as a particular discursive formation is constructed, stabilised and transformed in Turkish civil society. Thirdly, one of the main reasons why I chose Wodak and Reisigl's discourse analysis is that in several studies (for example Reisigl and Wodak 2001), a group of adaptable questions has proven to be a useful device for analysing political discourses (Reisigl 2008:99). I then adapted these questions to the specific case of Turkey (see p. 24). Most importantly, by relying on the basic argument of discourse theory that meaning is constructed within relational structures that are in turn shaped and re-shaped by political struggles, CDA provides me with the theoretical resources to understand and explain the power aspect of Euroscepticism.

Firstly, the attitudes are analysed towards Europe in general within the framework of Euroscepticism, Occidentalism and Gramscian interpretation of civil society employing the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Secondly, the CSOs categorised via Mayring's category system and survey results into their respective positions on the basis of the model by Kopecky and Mudde. Firstly, the qualitative content analysis of Mayring, then the CDA, will be presented and incorporated into the thesis.

### ***3.2.1 Mayring's Qualitative Content Analysis***

In order to classify the CSOs, the category system of Mayring's qualitative content analysis (2008) was applied. Accordingly, the diverging and converging positions and attitudes towards the EU and European integration were determined and classified using a system of categories. Relevant passages were selected from the text material to address the research questions (see Blatter et al. 2007:74). A categorisation of the forms of Euroscepticism using Qualitative Content Analysis and the survey results then followed.

### ***3.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis***

This thesis analyses how the entire phenomenon of Euroscepticism is discursively constructed in Turkish civil society by analysing the discourses of civil society leaders who actively participate in the discursive construction process, scrutinising Euroscepticism as a discursive formation in civil society and giving special attention to the specific dynamics of political contestation that take place surrounding the EU.<sup>64</sup> Trenz and Wilde (2008:2)

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<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the meaning of the EU is not fixed for civil society elite and can shift. European integration is prone to alternative constructions. There is a continuous reconstruction of meaning for Europe and the EU. The meaning of Europe is highly influenced by the discursive context, which is not constant and in flux. Confirming the argument that the EU is a contested concept (Connolly 1983), civil society elites link very different meanings

highlight this approach: “The spreading phenomenon of Euroscepticism relates to particular discursive formations within the battlefield of collective identities that is opened by European integration,” and suggest that understanding Euroscepticism as a discursive formation in the public sphere rather than as a collection of party positions or characteristics of public opinion.<sup>65</sup> The authors emphasise that Euroscepticism is a general discursive formation of approving or rejecting European integration through narratives and counter-narratives which are not equal to the sum of the actors’ various attitudes. Following Mair (2007), they claim that “Euroscepticism does not oppose particular *policies*, i.e. the contents of actions taken by the EU, but the *polity*, i.e. the competencies and constitutional settlement of the EU” (Trenz and de Wilde 2009:4). Hence, they define Euroscepticism as a broader perspective. To illustrate, an argument against fishery policy would not be contributing to Eurosceptic discourse, but a general argument that fishery policy should be controlled and regulated not by the EU but by the national government, could be interpreted as a Eurosceptic narrative.

The notion of discourse in this dissertation is tied to a specific understanding of language, which is both an influencer on and influenced by social reality. It has a constitutive role in social structures and relations. These discourses consist of argumentation, metaphors and various linguistic tools. Similar discursive practices can be reformulated in different contexts, which can be described as intertextuality (Wodak 2001). Discourses do not cause, but enable certain actions by “setting limites to what is possible to be articulated,” accordingly, they lead to “political struggles” between different versions of social reality (Diez 1999:23).

The primary objective of discourse analysis is to investigate which discursive strategies and linguistic structures are used to construct Europe within the context of its possible accession to the EU.<sup>66</sup> Thus, I aim to reveal the boundaries of the *Self* and the *Other* in answering the question: *to what extent has European heritage been internalised and the Western other seen as a carrier of those values?* Furthermore, Euroscepticism in Turkey is best understood in terms of socio-political and historical contexts through a discourse analysis. This is a method of textual analysis that aims to contextualise the text material with higher-level discussions and power relations (Keller 2004). According to Keller (2005:230-231), discourses are structurally linked statements, whereas claims about phenomena are ensured permanently and provided

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to the notion of the EU, depending on the perception of ‘us and them’, their expectations for the future or any external threat they may perceive. Analysing civil society discourse enables one to compare and contrast the positive traits attributed to the Self and the negative descriptions of the Other.

<sup>65</sup> Besides the discursive contents of Euroscepticism, they stress the performance of Euroscepticism, meaning the way Eurosceptic discourse is mobilised through certain actors.

<sup>66</sup> See also the recent book of Düzgit (2013), where she analyses the construction of European identity over debates on Turkey’s accession to EU among French politicians.

with validity claims. The reason I selected the CDA is that firstly, intergovernmentalism (Moravcsik 1993, 1998) and social constructivism see the state as a unitary space rather than a contested one (see Diez 2001:13). Thus, CDA is more suitable to analyse the contending discourses. Secondly, the discursive perspective focusses on subjective identities rather than interests, as stressed in the approaches of neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism, and emphasises the central role of language.

Thus, the data analysis methodology of this dissertation is based on the multidisciplinary theoretical framework of CDA. CDA is a method of discourse analysis that deals with the relationship of language to socio-political processes and the power relations associated with them (Fairclough 1992, 1995; Fairclough and Wodak 1997). It is based on earlier studies by Foucault, Bakhtin and Gramsci, and seeks to combine linguistics and sociological approaches within the analysis of the discourse in order to examine the complex interactions between discourse and society (Weiss and Wodak 2003:7). A remark that is deemed necessary here relates to the traces of the CDA. CDA's theoretical premises go back to the philosophical tradition of Gramsci (Titscher et al. 2000). This theoretical standing leads to a focus on the role of discourses that may constitute and be reshaped by hegemonic struggles. Moreover, the notion of harmony in philosophical traditions applies to the case for the theoretical framework of Occidentalism. CDA's analytical notions and categories for analysing concrete discourses can be used in conjunction with concepts of Gramsci and with Occidentalism.

Thus, CDA has both an ideological and epistemological content and an empirical technique. It analyses discourse as a text in context with two basic concepts. The first is 'intertextuality', meaning that texts always relate to other texts in the past or in the present. The second is 'interdiscursivity', and refers to discourses that overlap and interact with each other. Hence, in addition to providing an analytical toolkit in text analysis, the central concept of intertextuality and interdiscursivity is incorporated in the analysis. Intertextuality draws upon the connectedness of texts and transfer of main arguments, whereas interdiscursivity focuses upon the connections between discourses and in which ways they are drawn from one another (Wodak 2001). This study adheres mainly to the analytical CDA paradigm employed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001), Weiss and Wodak (2003), and Wodak (2001, 2007) and Van Dijk (1997). A characteristic of this type of discourse analysis is to transcend linguistic approach and to emphasise political, historical and sociological factors. Among the various distinct strands under the umbrella of CDA, this study draws closer to Wodak's discourse approach, which has been previously used in analysing the construction of European identities (Kryzanowski and Oberhuber 2007). Wodak (2001:66) argues that "the background of the social and political

fields in which the discursive events are embedded” and thus need to be integrated into the analysis.

Accordingly, I integrate different issues and political struggles in Turkish politics to the discourse of Euroscepticism. Taking the five discursive strategies summarized in Table 1, this study is interested in providing answers to the following questions:

- How do civil society elites refer to Europe linguistically?
- What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to Europe and the EU?
- By means of which arguments and argumentation schemes do civil society elites try to justify and legitimise their decision to support or oppose Turkey’s future EU membership?
- From what perspective or point of view are the referential/nomination strategies, positive or negative predications of the Self and the Other, and arguments for or against the EU and Europe expressed?
- How is the negative discourse of the Othering Europe mitigated or intensified?

Table 6 shows the five analytical categories investigated in the dissertation; the argumentation strategies, referential/nomination strategies, predication strategies, as well as perspectivation and mitigation strategies:

**Table 6: Discursive Strategies (Wodak 2001:73)**

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential/Nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups.	Membership categorization. Metaphors, metonymies, and synecdoches.
Predication	Labelling societal actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively.	Stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits. Implicit and explicit predicates.
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions.	Topoi, fallacies, and counterfactuals used to justify inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment.
Perspectivation, framing, or discourse representation	Expressing involvement, positioning speaker’s point of view.	Reporting, description, narration or quotation of (discriminatory) events and utterances.
Intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of (discriminatory) utterances

The analytical mechanism of the CDA<sup>67</sup> utilised in this study consists of three main steps: The first step involves outlining the themes in the discourses, namely the discursive topics on the perception of EU and Europe. The second step involves the exploration of nomination, predication, argumentation, mitigation and perspectivation strategies (Reisigl and Wodak 2001:44). Rather than restrict myself to the linguistic means to realise the discursive strategies, I primarily emphasise predication and argumentation strategies in answering my research questions. Referential/nomination strategies can use linguistic tools such as tropes, metaphors and substitutions, and are closely linked with the strategy of predication, “the very basic process and result of linguistically assigning qualities to persons, animals, objects, events, actions and social phenomena” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001:54). The use of rhetorical devices such as stigmas and flag words can be instrumental in predication strategies. Argumentation strategies that are used in justifying the predications can have different forms. Among the most common is the employment of *topos*, defined as “parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises in the shape of content-related warrants that connect the arguments with the conclusion” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001:74). Finally, intensification and mitigation strategies can use many rhetorical devices in strengthening the force of utterances. In this study, discursive strategies and their linguistic means are demonstrated via selected excerpts from the texts. The excerpts that are focussed on for analysis are chosen particularly on the basis of their usage of argumentative strategies, their frequency and importance in the respondent’s whole discourse, and great attention is paid if they are “typical discourse fragments” (Jäger and Maier 2009:54) that have been observed in EU and Europe constructions throughout the data.

This thesis adheres to the analytical paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In so doing, it goes beyond the description of Eurosceptic discourse and explores how and why particular Eurosceptic discourses are produced. Critical Discourse analysts such as Fairclough (1992) believe that discourse both reflects social and political processes, and contributes to the production of these processes. Gramsci (1971) and Althusser (1961) have both mentioned the importance of ideology for modern societies to sustain and reinforce their social structures. Foucault (1992) mentions that language is the primary instrument through which the ideology is transmitted and reproduced. Accordingly, analysing Eurosceptic discursive strategies in light of the contextual factors necessitates a close scrutinizing of ideological hegemonic struggles.

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<sup>67</sup> Howards (2008) states that methodological deficit is one of the most important deficits for discourse theory. Covering a national discursive space is impossible, as one cannot read everything that has been written or stated within a debate, but the domain of civil society is a good arena to trace the discourses on Europe in Turkey.



Wodak, Van Dijk and Fairclough share a common assertion of the centrality of language as a tool for social construction (Teo 2000:11).

This study tries to unmask and make transparent the kind of power relations and ideologies that have become dominant over time in the Eurosceptic discourse. CDA is the most appropriate tool for this aim, because it focusses on the deeper social forces which shape the discourse and are continuously reshaped by it. Thus, power relationships and structures affect the perception of Europe and European integration.

In sum, the approach that this study adopts is a critical approach to discourse analysis, focussing on the issues of power, hegemony and dominance in Euroscepticism in Turkey. There is still much work to be done to make Euroscepticism a conceptual and analytic unity and coherence, and it is hoped that this study can reflect and contribute to this process. As Diez (1999:1) notes, when the efforts of categorisations and naming are considered as a mirror of reality, the discrepancy between real events and knowledge about them can be very high. Rather, reality can be observed only through linguistic construction. Due to this, my thesis explores the role of language in the construction of the European Union. The main argument is that perceptions are not politically innocent, and may themselves be the focus of analysis because they also construct the relationship between Turkey and EU. This thesis focusses on a discursive space situated inside coercive power relations. As Searle (1969:132-6) notes, language is not always neutral and may serve for political purposes and power consolidation. The utterance of words can seem innocent and descriptive, but it is not. Saying Europe is not innocent and, in a Foucauldian sense, it can have political force.

Connolly (1983) and Schäffner et al. (1996:4) stated that Europe is not a neutral reality, but a contested concept whose meaning is prone to change. As Connolly (1983:30) notes, the contest about concepts is a central political struggle in constructing reality. The discourse analyses focuses on the constructing role of the discourse in the projection of political struggles. Foucauldian thinking focusses on the politics involved in discourse, which is often hidden and we are frequently unaware of it. Hence, the investigation of discursive events is a way of tracing the impact of hegemonical struggles and the competition between different political forces to get maximum support for the articulation of empty signifiers such as Europe, whose meaning is not fixed and prone to change in the domain of the civil society on Europe and European Integration.

### ***3.2.3 Research Tradition of the Study***

According to Flick (2008) there are three uses for qualitative research, all of which are also valid for the following analysis: analysis of subjective perspectives (in my case, the perspectives of civil society leadership), social processes and structures, and analysis of deeper structures (in my case, hegemonic struggles). I analysed the civil society leaders' perspectives and the social processes influencing their perceptions, which may be not be apparent at first glance. Moreover, the following research is contextual in terms of identifying what Euroscepticism is in the Turkish context and what the context factors specific to Turkey are; diagnostic in terms identifying the reasons for, or causes of, what already exists; evaluative in terms of appraising the effectiveness of what exists; and strategic in terms of establishing a new model (Ritchie and Lewis 2002). A further characteristic of the research is that it is case-driven, not variable-driven, as a general septicity of qualitative research. It tries to make a "thick description" (Geertz 1973) and is grounded in a non-positivist tradition.<sup>68</sup> Throughout the research process, all of the data collection, generation and analysis methods are regarded as more than "techniques" and need to be applied thoughtfully for efficiency and for the reliability of the results, although there is not a unified set of rules that could be followed. The thesis has been regarded as an intellectual "architecture". The researcher intensively needs to get a grasp of the whole body of data and of each individual text, and have a good intuition for where the interesting aspects are. I identified a first set of relevant elements, paying heed to close-to-the-text units (words, metaphors, expressions) as well as to very abstract units (logical structures, argumentative strategies). I tried to pay extra attention what respondents did not mention, referring to the absence of a particular argument. Individual words or expressions sometimes stand out as significant elements that do "rhetorical work", which effects the whole text. What can be explicitly marked is often not what is most important: the central elements are often implicit in structures, underlying unspoken assumptions etc. They then have to be "translated" into words. Other central elements may come from the context rather than from the text itself. Interpretive analysis goes much deeper into the material than content analyses in terms of intensity.

The adherence to the scientific quality has been central throughout the research process. I ensured the transparency of the different research procedures by giving detailed information about the decisions made during each research step. The peculiar future of the context has been

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<sup>68</sup> Each research tradition (positivist, constructivist, critical) has a different understanding of the goals of research, the "proper" position of the researcher, criteria for the assessment of "good" research and whether and how "reality" can be identified (Guba and Lincoln 2005).

given special attention. I aimed to include crucial particularities in the current Turkish politics throughout the research process. The research is based on the concept of Aristotle's (1994) *phronesis*, "the intellectual virtue of recognizing and responding to what is important in a situation."<sup>69</sup> As a consequence, "...the practical skills of the interview researcher, which enable him or her to understand the concrete powers and vulnerabilities that are in play in particular situations" come into focus (Kvale, Brinkmann 2009 :61).

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<sup>69</sup> "Pronesis or practical wisdom deals with the ultimate particular thing, which cannot be apprehended by Scientific Knowledge, but only by perception" (Aristotle 1994: 351).

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS**

In this chapter, the data, focussing on Eurosceptic argumentation strategies is assessed. Moreover I investigate 1) Nomination and Predication of EU and Europe, 2) Eurosceptic Perspectivation, and 3) Intensification and Mitigation of Euroscepticism. Referential (or nomination) strategies are strategies by means of which speakers classify social actors (see van Leeuwen 1996). In predicational strategies, speakers assign to social actors positive or negative attributes. In Khan's (2012) terms, "...in argumentation strategies, predications function as topoi to justify discrimination and/or exclusion. In perspectivation strategies, speakers express their own point of view by appraising the propositions they are communicating.' In intensification or mitigation strategies, speakers strengthen or weaken the epistemic status of particular propositions (Reisigl and Wodak 2001). The central question that I try to answer in this chapter is how is Euroscepticism is constructed as a discursive formation by civil society leaders.

#### ***4.1 Referential, Nomination and Predication Strategies***

In this section, I highlight how social actors are linguistically constructed by being named and how civil society elites refer to Europe and EU linguistically. The textual data examined in this study shows that the core referential/nomination strategy is the construction of a dual approach towards Europe. In the following analysis, I examine the referent/nominal strategies that lie at the core of the discursive construction of civil-society-based Euroscepticism, before proceeding to the predication strategies, namely into an analysis how certain values are attributed to these concepts. The referent/nominal strategies that lie at the heart of the discursive construction of Euroscepticism can be manifested in five main tenets.

First of all, it should be underlined that the conservative and Islamic respondents used the words EU, Europe and West interchangeably. A dominant referential strategy in conservative-Islamic civil society leader discourse is to equate the EU with Europe and the West. These three terms are used synonymously more than often. For Hülse (2006), to use the EU interchangeably with Europe stresses the importance of the cultural, rather than the political, dimensions of perception. Accordingly, this argument suggests that the Islamic-conservative actors nominate the EU discursively as a cultural-civilizational structure rather than as being a supranational political structure on the continent. In contrast, scepticism towards the EU from

social democratic and Kemalist civil society leaders derives from the fact that it is not an effective supranational political structure that can control a candidate country's internal democracy deficits. In the discourse of the social democratic and Kemalist leaders, those three terms are most often clearly separated and not used synonymously. Hence, in their discourses, there is a clear distinction between the EU as a political entity and Europe as a geographical one (Hüllse 2000:18). At this point, depending on the findings, it can be argued that the stress on cultural and geographical dimensions may likely cause more cultural Euroscepticism, whereas the stress on the political character may likely cause more political Euroscepticism. Hence, it may be interpreted as the first small sign that European identity is conceptualised among Islamic and conservative civil society leaders more in terms of cultural norms and values than as affiliation to a particular sovereign entity. This way of nominating the EU and Europe may turn the issue of Turkey's accession into a question of cultural distinctiveness in a rather culturalist understanding: "By equating the EU and Europe, the membership question is transformed into a question of whether Turkey is European" (Hüllse 2000:10).

The second important referent/nominal strategy, especially in the leftist, social democratic, Alevi and Kemalist civil society leaders' discourses is linking the EU and the AKP. In some extreme cases, the tendency to equate them as a single actor can be observed. In left-wing civil society leaders' discourses, the EU and the AKP are regarded operating together according to the mechanisms of the capitalist system. Moreover, left-wing leadership use the referential strategy of equating the EU with capitalist institutions and essentially see no difference between the strategies of the AKP and the EU. Hence, they construct an in-group homogeneity among the main capitalist organisations and the AKP, and stress the essential necessary sameness among these entities. Social democrats link the EU and the AKP by criticising "the EU's long support for the Turkish government party." Accordingly, the EU is referred mainly as a proponent of the AKP and as an opponent to Kemalism. A small part of Kemalist leaders used the referential strategy of seeing the USA as the main actor and the AKP and the EU as passive followers.

The third important referent/nominal strategy is that Europe is, quite surprisingly, constructed as a heterogeneous entity. Despite the fact that conservatives and Islamic leaders equate Europe and the EU, they do not construct the EU as a homogenous entity, but rather differentiate between different groups. Leftist civil society leaders are aware of the different tendencies in the EU and, by equating the EU and the AKP, they differentiate the left-wing tendencies in the EU. Hence, Europe and the EU are not regarded not as homogeneous entities. Nevertheless, some of the conservative and Islamic leaders saw a similarity in cultural grounds

across EU members' historical and cultural backgrounds, ways of life, religious and other practices by accepting political or institutional differences. In past studies, construction of in-group homogeneity and sameness is well documented to be a major semantic strategy contributing to the discursive formation of collective identity (Tekin 2008). Nevertheless, in the following study, when expressing their scepticism towards Europe, most of the respondents were aware of the political, cultural and institutional differences within the EU. Some civil society leaders even mentioned the past wars that have been at the centre of the European project. The awareness of the non-homogeneity of the EU and Europe made the speeches more sophisticated and differentiated. I have furthermore observed that this awareness led to an adaptable approach towards Europe and the EU. If things change in the direction they support, most of the leaders are ready to soften their approach towards the EU in a pragmatic sense. Hence, they do not de-emphasise or deny the differences among the EU states. In other words, with small exceptions, the discourses show that there is an awareness of Europe's heterogeneity.

The fourth referential strategy refers to the in-group homogeneity in terms of ideology and religion, but not through a Turk-European dichotomy. Several argumentative and rhetorical tools such as *topoi* and metaphors may be instrumental in the construction of the discourses. The first person plural pronoun "We" is important in the study of political discourse (Van Dijk 2000:95). As Chilton and Schäffner (2002) argue, the first person plural (we, us, our) especially can be used by respondents to conceptualise their group identity. Civil society leaders use the first person plural "We" not through a national labelling such as "We Turks", but in terms of in-group ideological and religious homogeneity. In the case of the civil society leaders, the "We" referred more to their ideological and ethnical identities, rather than an in-group homogeneity. In many utterances, it is possible to find expressions such as "We Muslims" or "We Alevis" or "We Social Democrats" or "We Leftists". It is therefore obvious that the selective use of the first-person plural pronoun "We" provides an opportunity for civil society leaders to perspectivate their discourse. In this common strategy of perspectivation, the EU is sometimes constructed as an actor approaching their groups with double standards and praised as long as the EU supports the rights of their groups. It can be argued that in the case that the EU makes statements and acts against their groups, they distance themselves from it. Given the hegemonic struggles in Turkey, it is perhaps not quite surprising to use the first person plural pronoun "We Turks" to build an in-group national homogeneity.

The fifth referential strategy can be observed mainly among conservative and Islamic civil society leaders. It can be argued that historical lexicalisations are operative in the construction of Euroscepticism. Conservative and Islamic leaders' Eurosceptic discourse emphasises the

importance of past representations for current perception and evaluation patterns. Some representations of Europe carry with them centuries-old stereotypical images of Europe and West. A major referential strategy in this group of civil society leaders' discourses is the selective use of historical adjectives to denote EU or Europe. Most of the time the historical lexicals employed had a negative connotation. Here, a core rhetorical strategy in the discourse is to link the discourse to the historical image of the Ottoman Empire. A series of generalisations pertinent to the Ottomans are displayed in these discourses. This particular rhetorical move helps the conservative and Islamic civil society leaders transfer positivity from the Ottoman Empire and implement it as a continuity in the current politics. They strategically replace Turkey with the Ottoman Empire in a rhetorical move that contributes to a construction of Eurocynicism, which will be discussed later. Now, in the following, I will focus on predication strategies.

Van Dijk (2000) argues that creating an in-group homogeneity and out-group distinctiveness is value-laden with ideologically based norms and values. In the discourses, the homogeneity between the different ideological and religious groups led to the establishment of boundaries and attaching of negative values to the other groups and the EU. The Eurosceptic discourse is strengthened through widespread predication strategies. While social democrats, Kemalists and a part of the left-wing groups predicate the EU through the lenses of domestic politics, conservative and Islamic leaders tend to mention only the positive aspects of the present Turkey and past Ottoman Empire, simply ignoring negative developments. The most important predication strategy employed by conservative and Islamic leaders is the positive self-presentation based on the Ottoman past – national self-glorification. Positive presentations of the Ottoman Empire's culture and civilisation are a dominant strategy of predication in conservative and Islamic civil society discourse. Van Dijk (2000) mentions that group-talk is characterised by an overall strategy of in-group favouritism or positive self-identification. They only mention what they consider to be the positive aspects of Ottoman culture while simply ignoring its negative aspects.<sup>70</sup> The discourse is based on the superiority of Ottoman culture and civilisation, and national self-glorification is implemented through a discourse that refers positively to Ottoman myths, Ottoman culture and Turkey's ambitions to be a regional power, where a strong inter-discursivity with the AKP is observable. Hence, conservative and Islamic leaders practice positive self-representation with the glorification of the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>70</sup> Recently, Erdoğan criticised a Turkish soap opera based on the life and reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, the 16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Sultan, which has 150 million viewers across Turkey, the Balkans and the Middle East because it misinforms the people about Ottoman life. He said: "Before my nation I condemn both the director of this series and the owner of this television station. We have already alerted the authorities, and we are waiting a judicial decision" (Timeworld 2012).

Another important predication strategy is the negative prediction of the European colonial past, which is observable among all of the discursive spheres. The European colonial past is harshly condemned. A theme that is particularly strong in the negative presentation strategies of the discourse is the contention that the EU only considers its own interests. This particular theme of a profit-seeking Europe is such a common predication strategy that it almost makes up a topos on its own. Nevertheless, it can be argued the EU and Europe predications show a dual character: each group constructs the EU and Europe in different weights through positive and negative predications. In describing Europe, the speakers make use of positive references such as “democratic or liberal” or negative, value-laden adjectives such as “colonial” or “full of paradoxes”. Tables 7 and 8 give a list of predications and nominations that were utilised in the discourses:

**Table 7: Nominations and predications of the EU/Europe in the interview texts**

<b>CSO leaders</b>	<b>Positive Nominations/Predications of the EU and Europe</b>	<b>Negative Nominations/Predications of the EU and Europe</b>
Conservative and Islamic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An international family</li> <li>• Free movement of persons</li> <li>• Place of relatively developed human rights standards</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Egocentric</li> <li>• Conflictual</li> <li>• Colonial</li> <li>• Not trustful</li> <li>• Fascist past</li> <li>• Surrendered to the Greece on the Cyprus issue</li> <li>• Double-faced</li> <li>• Discrimination against Muslims</li> <li>• Imposing structure</li> <li>• Crusader attacks on Ottoman Empire</li> <li>• Islamophobia</li> <li>• Divide and conquer</li> <li>• Zionist thinking</li> <li>• Supporting PKK</li> <li>• Orientalist</li> <li>• Mechanical</li> <li>• Seeking paradise in the world</li> <li>• War producing geographical location</li> <li>• Invasive</li> <li>• The guardian of Israel</li> </ul>
Social Democrat and Kemalist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The centre of democracy and human rights</li> <li>• Reformism</li> <li>• Cultural pluralism</li> <li>• Freedom</li> <li>• Civilised</li> <li>• Beneficial for human rights</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Incoherent</li> <li>• Nonenthusiast for Kemalism</li> <li>• No consensus in itself</li> <li>• Double standards</li> <li>• Pragmatic</li> <li>• Maximising its interests</li> <li>• Dividing attitude</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Union of universal values</li> <li>• More developed</li> <li>• Freedom of thought</li> <li>• The cradle of art</li> <li>• Multicultural</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Turco-sceptic</li> <li>• Not willing to see things that are against its interests</li> </ul>
Left-wing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EU as an instrument for the development of social rights</li> <li>• More developed worker rights than Turkey</li> <li>• Not yet complete project</li> <li>• Europe of labour</li> <li>• Historic democratic struggles</li> <li>• Democracy</li> <li>• Renaissance and Reform</li> <li>• Classical Music</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neoliberal organisation</li> <li>• Part of international capitalist system</li> <li>• Imperialist project</li> <li>• The project of flexibilisation of labour</li> <li>• Colonial</li> <li>• Full of paradoxes</li> <li>• Loss of workers rights through EU criteria</li> <li>• Economic control</li> <li>• Structure where democracy and freedom are empty signifiers</li> <li>• Sovereign capitalist countries</li> <li>• Colonial policies in Greece</li> <li>• Integration of countries to capitalist country</li> <li>• Not focused on democracy except the socialist groups in European parliament</li> <li>• Mussolini, Hitler, Franco</li> </ul>
Nationalist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economically rich</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Colonial</li> <li>• Not relevant for society</li> <li>• Out-dated structure</li> <li>• Supporting PKK</li> <li>• Not a centre of democracy</li> </ul>
Liberal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Place of standards</li> <li>• Plurality</li> <li>• More developed</li> <li>• Urban</li> <li>• Freedom of thought</li> <li>• Multicultural</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bureaucratic structure</li> <li>• Economic crisis</li> </ul>

**Table 8: Nominations and predications of the West in interview texts**

CSO leaders	Positive Nominations/Predications of the West	Negative Nominations/Predications of the West
Conservative and Islamic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More developed human right standards</li> <li>• Constructed, fictional entity</li> <li>• Technology</li> <li>• Economic focus</li> <li>• Hegemonic, transforming non-Western societies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Modernity in quotation marks</li> <li>• Imperialist</li> <li>• Double-faced</li> <li>• Pragmatic</li> </ul>
Social Democrat and Kemalist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Higher democratic standards</li> <li>• Democratic</li> <li>• Developed</li> <li>• Secular</li> <li>• Cradle of civilization</li> <li>• Rationality</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Double-faced</li> <li>• Not confident</li> <li>• Hegemonic</li> </ul>

Left-wing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Welfare state</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Imperialist</li> <li>• Capitalist</li> <li>• Colonial</li> </ul>
Nationalist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Democratic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Double standards</li> <li>• Interest-based</li> </ul>
Liberal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Post-industrial liberal democracies</li> <li>• Higher democratic standards</li> <li>• Modern</li> <li>• Locations of nations producing modern values</li> </ul>	

In the next part, the argumentation strategies are focused on, in order to further investigate the discourses. The argumentation strategies can be regarded as complementing the nomination/predication strategies.

## ***4.2 Argumentation Strategies***

In my analysis of argumentation strategies, the emphasis is on identifying various schemes of argumentation characterised by a range of topoi to enhance the persuasiveness of Euroscepticism. Four main argumentation strategies were identified in civil society leaders' discourse: 1) Dual Perception of the West and Europe, 2) the misuse of the EU accession process by the AKP, 3) Eurocynicism, and 4) the Neoliberal EU.

### ***4.2.1 Occidentalism: Dual Perceptions of the West and Europe***

The following section focusses exclusively on the representations of Europe and the West<sup>71</sup> in Turkish civil society discourse. I applied CDA to this debate and drew on the content of interviews and secondary literature. The civil society discourse has a rich, complex historical and contemporary image of the West from which I expect they form their Eurosceptic discourses to some degree. The discourse incorporates topics ranging from the Siege of Vienna,

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<sup>71</sup> It should be noted that concepts like the West or the East are still prevalent in both scientific and popular discourse. Fernando Coronil (1996:52) argues that they categorise the world into divergent units and identify areas of world. He emphasises that the West is seen as being the locus of modernity, whereas backwardness is attributed to the East. Spencer (2003:236) claims that by the primary encounter with the West the elements creating an imaginary Western do not centre on discourse, epistemology and politics, but on the objects of consumption and desire. According to Spencer (2003:239), non-Western Occidentalism as a whole is a case study of the politics of consumption. Negatively, the West is as immoral because of individualism and competitive society and exploits the East. Positively, the West is the locus of innovative individualism and freedom, and is the source of enlightenment and progress. To him, it is important to critically examine what kinds of ideological and power relations influence the separation to "us and them" and lead us to create certain types of representations of geographies and societies.

the tolerance of the Ottoman Empire for religious and ethnic diversity and the Crusades to the case of Al-Andulus and Islamophobia. This chapter tries to illustrate how the West and Europe are perceived among respondents, and at which discursive nodal points their argumentation and referential strategies coincide and differ. Thus, as a theoretical framework, Occidentalism will be employed to analyse the constructions of the West and Europe in the imaginations of civil society leaders and their influences on the discursive construction of the Euroscepticism in Turkey. This chapter tries to illuminate which connotation of Occidentalism is dominant among the civil society leaders, if a stereotypical and dehumanising view against the West including only negative constructions is present (Buruma/Margalit 2004) or a more differentiated Western view is observable among respondents (Coronil 1996, Spencer 1995, Ahiska 2003). This doubtlessly will allow for increased understanding of the underlying roots of Euroscepticism in Turkish civil society in a more differentiated sense.

In the Theory Chapter, I noted how Occidentalism was first incorporated in Turkish context. Namely, according to Meltem Ahiska, “Occidentalism can be best understood as describing the set of practices and arrangements justified in and against the imagined idea of ‘the West’” (Ahiska 2003:16). Ahiska emphasised the relationship of Occidentalism and the formation of national subjectivities, describing Occidentalism as a border regime, under which the modern Turkish national identity is reproduced on the border between pleasure and frustration, celebration and avoidance, convergence and divergence to the image of the West. Occidentalism functions as “the conceptualisation of the ways in which the West figures in the temporal/spatial imagining of modern Turkish national identity” (Ahiska 2003:3). A critical analysis of Occidentalism<sup>72</sup> can open new ways to understand the exercise of power through utilising the gap between the admired and frustrated image of the West. Hence, Occidentalism refers neither to pure Westernism nor dangerous anti-Westernism. Occidentalism does not only mean modernity adopted from the West or hatred of Western values – according to this conceptualisation, it has a dual meaning in the Turkish context. I will scrutinise the respondents’ perceptions of Europe and the West throughout this section and explore if this argumentation

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<sup>72</sup> Occidentalism can stand for either the representation of the West by the Western subjects and or the articulation of the West by non-Western subjects. Jonathan Spencer (2003) categorises Occidentalism into positivist and romantic Occidentalism. The positivist tradition can be traced back to the works of Dumont and Comte. In the positivist interpretation of Occidentalism, the differences of the West and the East are located in the temporal. The differences can be understood when “their” presence is in fact “our past”. The positivist tradition explains the delay of the East with a linear time comprehension. Romantic Occidentalism, on the other hand, “acknowledges differences in the present without relocating them so explicitly along a temporal scale, but then find itself constantly threatened by accusations of relativism and cultural solipsism” (Spencer 1995:238). To Spencer, there is an implicit Occidentalism in academia by using dichotomies of traditional and modern, rural and urban, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, which glorify the West as modern and urban.

for Occidentalism is valid according to the argumentation strategies and, if so, how it can be associated with Euroscepticism as understood as skepticism towards the EU and European Integration.

I will investigate perceptions of Europe in Turkish civil society with the argumentation and referential strategies of the CSO leaders. In the leftist discourse, the topoi of hegemony and exploitation assume a domination of the West over the East in economic and political terms. Generally, we observe a referential strategy to the theory of Orientalism of Edward Said (1978). To illustrate, according to ideologically left-wing respondent I1, the West and East should be considered today basically in political and economic terms. In his words, the Western political and economic authorities define the rest of the world as the “Other”.<sup>73</sup> In so doing, they evaluate the Eastern regions as a market that has to be exploited. Furthermore, I1 defines the view of the West on the East as an Orientalist perspective. In his view, the West and the East exist in this unequal dimension and in a relationship of domination and exploitation (I1 55-60). It should be noted that this argumentation strategy of regarding the West as dominating other parts of the world is more broadly present in the left-wing civil society discourse. Moreover, in left-wing discourse, the West has been basically defined in a two-sided argumentation: On the one side, it means capitalism or imperialism, but on the other hand, it includes also the Renaissance, and the reforms and also a cultural richness. (TC1 84-87). This attitude can be seen in the following passage clearly:

The term Europe makes one to think about, these will be always the same points; democracy, freedom, welfare state, modernity, justice in a relative form, but also about the Mussolini, Hitler and Franco governments. Additionally, I think about the renaissance and reforms, classical music. (T2:114-117)

The excerpt from a leftist professional organisation leader above suggests a two-sided view of Europe: The referential strategy to fascist regimes in European history constitutes the negative side of Occidentalism as understood in Turkish context. While, the extract suggests via the important word “relativity” that flag words such as democracy, freedom and justice contain discrepancy with their real meanings in European practices, it attaches European history of renaissance and reform and culture a positive value implicitly. In the excerpt above, positively connoted flag words such as democracy, human rights and the rule of law are associated with European values, resulting in the positive representation of the Europe. Their essence is found in the history of Enlightenment.

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<sup>73</sup> Hence, the respondent highlights that in the eyes of the West, the East is a region that is be dominated as the Other.

What is notable in the left discourse is that these positive and negative sides are very often based on a particular historical narrative involving the renaissance, reform, enlightenment or negatively stressed fascism of Hitler and Mussolini. In other words, the West in its negative terms is regarded the locus of colonialism and fascism in the leftist discourse:

The more we learn the West, the more we understand that there are nearly no homogenous values which would be called as the values of the West. West is a culture, a geography that has initiated important political concepts such as Fascism. We can see the colonialism in the 1800's when we look at the relations between France and Algeria, United Kingdom and the Far East. (TC1 180-185)

This excerpt from another left-wing professional organisation leader clearly mentions the heterogeneous character of the West, and is careful not to initially attach to it an essentiality and homogeneity. Nevertheless, while regarding differences among its components, it refers to its historical colonialism and fascism as essential characteristics.

The discourse referring to “political disasters” largely neglects the political developments the West has achieved so far in order to gain credibility. Hence, the argumentative strategy on the West indicates positive and negative dimension among the analysed CSO leaders’ discourses, whereby the filling of the positive and negative characteristics differ among the discursive sites. The following extract from a left-wing CSO leader is a good example for the negative and positive meanings attached to Europe and the West:

When we say “West”, economic wealth, organized society, higher democratic standards, and besides colonialism, imperialism, economically restructuring the world and globalisation come into mind. And what if we say “Europe”? A huge struggle for democracy, very hard-earned rights come to mind. Free thought in science, education and arts comes to mind. And what if we say “European Union”? First of all, economic and political union. The efforts of the European countries to make a place in the market conflict and in the world’s balance of power in total instead of country by country. The efforts to sustain the existing capitalist economic structure whilst reforming it. The world “Western” means to me a character more sensitive to human rights, educated, individualistic and also alienation through the process of individualisation. (I1:101)

As noted before, in the left-wing civil society discourse on the Europe/the West in Turkey, Europe is overwhelmingly constructed in a two-dimensional view. Accordingly, the excerpt above from a left-wing leader of a human rights organisation constructs the West on the one hand as democratic and economically rich and on the other hand as imperialist, colonialist and having the ambition to shape the world according to its own interests.

The modernisation paradigm that supposes an superiority/inferiority relationship through positive representations of the West and the copying East (via predications such as the European

model) has been overwhelmingly rejected in the discourse in stressing the importance of internal dynamics:

There is an important majority arguing that to be or not to be parts of the European Union is neither a destiny nor indispensable for Turkey, that it is important for Turkey to establish and maintain peace with its inner dynamics, that communal peace and economic progress may be succeeded with its inner dynamics; that perceiving the European Union with enmity or admiration would both be wrong. (Es1:65)

This excerpt from a left-wing trade union leader suggests via the topos of internal dynamics the importance of Turkey's own development and that it is not necessary to be a member of the EU for the sake of development, denying the modernisation paradigm that entails the pursuit of one particular European/Western route to modernity and stressing multiple modernities.<sup>74</sup>

Furthermore, some left-wing CSO leaders tend to see the West culturally homogeneous, but having differing economic interests. The following excerpt constructs the West as culturally homogeneous, but economically heterogeneous, based on Western countries' different interests:

But if we look for values, there is something in common as a cultural and historical infrastructure: all cultural and artistic education is based on the ancient Greeks, all the Western languages are based on Latin. We see a homogeneous fact if we consider it in this aspect. Every country has its own economic power when we talk about economic profit, and this causes rivalries (T2:47).

Notwithstanding the fact this it is not a general tendency among left-wing CSO leaders, the extract above sees a cultural homogeneity in Western culture and disregards the large differences among different parts of the West in referring to a particular historical era: Ancient Greece. In contrast, the left-wing respondent T1 has a more differentiated view about the imagined concepts of the West and the East. He explains the changing meanings of the concepts in a dynamic understanding of history:

Now, we can talk about a West and East in the cultural sense in the sociologic context. When we go back a bit further in history, the fact of where the West ends and where the East starts is a conflict for today's perception. What we understand of the West in today's perception is development, economic wealth, modern lifestyle, but when we look back in history 3,000 years, we see that these all were in the East; the sense of today's West is the same with the East of the past 3,000 years in history. This points out a cultural and social

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<sup>74</sup> Through many comparative historical studies, Shmuel Eisenstadt has helped establish the concept of 'multiple modernities' in contemporary historical sociology (Eisenstadt 2000). Keyman and İcduygu (2003: 220) argue that "the process of cultural globalisation is rendering the idea of national development problematic by giving rise to the emergence of 'alternative modernities', cultural identities and the clash between the universal Western values and the particular/local claims to authenticity."

difference that exists today, which has existed since 400 years ago. If we look on the other side, there is no West nor East; the civilisations of human society are changing location in the geographical sense, this makes of the actual sense of West and East a political and economic concept. It is a political and economic concept because the political and economic authorities that have risen with the economic development on one side of the world qualify the rest of the world as the “Other”. The rest of the world is a market, a place for exploitation. It is a place that has to be ruled; this is why it is the “Other”, the “East”, the “Orientalist point of view”, in this sense the “West and East” do exist. (I1:112)

The excerpt above suggests a dynamic interpretation of history and refers to the Marxist and anti-imperialist approaches in defining the concepts of the West and East. In the second part of the argumentation, I1 stresses that besides the historical side of the concepts, the superiority/inferiority complex inherited by today's world is associated with political/economic power relations.

Social democrat CSO leader S1, similarly focuses on the historical developments of the concepts, proposing a differentiated view of history:

The West is a large concept, for example Weber has separated America and the West. The West is considered as the influence for contemporary values, as the basis of communities at the heart of civilisation for three to five centuries. We consider the West as an area where communities that lead production, i.e thought and material production, are concentrated. This was not always the case: 500 years ago, Western production was far lower than the production of Asia today, just as much as was in Africa. Before the discovery of America, the production of Europe was as much as it is in Africa today: 50% of production was made in Asia, 25% was in Europe. We mostly remember the West starting from the age of Enlightenment, we are used to thinking of the past 300 years. The West always existed as a geographic concept, but not with that content: West is a fetish for us. (S1 256-267)

The argumentation above suggests a non-static understanding of history and culture, and in so doing has a more in-depth historical approach. Weber's predication/referential strategy constructs Europe as a rational civilization of the production of material goods and ideas. Similarly, a large part the respondents analysed overwhelmingly employ predication/referential strategies that persistently construct Europe as both the locus of modernity and rationality, and dominance and colonialism. The metaphorical world “fetish” here refers to an obsessive interest in the West and an extremely strong devotion to the West that should be relativised according to the respondent.

Another left-wing respondent from a professional organisation, T2, witnesses to a collectivism/individualism dichotomy necessary in analysing the concepts of the West and the East. According to T2 (239-300), today's economic relationships have alienated individuals and, as a result, the individual suffers greatly. He suggests that when one goes to the East, in those societies that have not been deeply or densely exposed to capitalism, the collective

consciousness has more value than the individual. T2 stresses that this collective consciousness is one of the most important conditions of existence in the East. He sees the deficiency of the East in the fact that there is no individual in the collective consciousness, the individual is neglected and ignored. While society is considered as a mass, the individual is considered a creature. In the meantime, the West has discovered the individual and has destroyed the collective consciousness; it has totally submitted itself to mechanic institutions, relationships that may be qualified as mechanic: "Everything is standardised, time, space and conditions have been determined. They are condemned to a life that is unable to get out of this system; they call this "freedom", we see it as condemnation. The free human being is not an independent individual, the human being transformed to an individual is condemned to specific relations, specific standards" (T1:59-65). He sees this point in a cultural sense as the superiority of the East. Here, he expresses this individualism/collectivism dichotomy:

Moral and cultural values such as to help others and friendship are not frequent in capitalist societies; instead there is an isolation and alienation because people consider each other rivals in an order where trade and economics are everything. This isolation was protested starting in the sixties and seventies in Turkey, a majority rejected it because it was contrary to religious values. I totally agree with this because we can see similar erosions in parts of Turkey where this process has been and is being applied. (T2:301-307)

Individualism as a European characteristic is placed against collectivism as the underlying tenet of Turkey. This necessitates two related interpretations. One is that by stereotypically labelling Europe as individualistic, the utterance in fact constructs one version of the truth by excluding Europe's collectivist aspects. Secondly, the emphasis on individualism as an European inherit value is itself not new, being a well-entrenched essentialising stereotype of European identity dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This constructed distance strengthens the predication of Europe as a individualistic country separated from communal values. The individualism/collectivism dichotomy is regarded as a difference between East and the West.

However, the social democratic respondent S1 sees individuality more in America and collectivism more in Europe:

What is the difference between the West and Europe? We generally perceive the West when we say Europe because the values that the West represents were initiated by Europe. America has adopted some of them, that is how it became America, then the individualist approach developed. Europe mostly adopted collectivist approaches, they adopted mostly a communal model. In fact, America is part of the West, it is an extension of the West. We could also include Japan, Australia and New Zealand, but the West is actually a community mostly constituted of the white race which has developed contemporary approaches to dominating societies starting from the age of Enlightenment. (S1:122-131)



The above extract suggests a differentiation between Europe and America, seeing Europe more collectivist than America.

In the left-wing discourse (different than the social democratic and Kemalist discourse), Western values and the positive meaning attached to the West are mainly associated with the struggle of the working class and earned rights, and the negative meaning attached to it due to the increasingly neoliberal policies of the last decades:

After the Second World War, the social state and basic rights have been taken under guarantee, this is why we can observe an aggregation concerning what we call Western values: liberties, social security, environmental protection, market intervention and the improvement of employees' economic and social status. The roots of these aggregated political, communal values are based in the 1600-1700s. The nation-state complex was first established in Middle Europe, then in the Ottoman Empire, finally in the Balkan States, so the basics of the nation-state complex that was also applied in the Turkish Republic come from the West. Considering the Western social state and freedom model in the 1960s in the communal freedom aspect, we'll perceive the tendency for values. But when the devaluation process, especially in the last 30 years, caused by the dissection of all values to the market and trade came into focus in Europe and capitalist countries, a protest revolt was launched in part for the protection of these values. (TC1:112-124)

The above extract from a left-wing CSO leader of a professional organisation combines the positive "Western values" with the notion of the social state, but criticises the dominance of neoliberal policies in the Western world that diminish Western values.

We can also see the referential strategy to Orientalism and colonialism in Islamic discourses.<sup>75</sup> Concerning this matter, an interdiscursivity between Islamic/conservative and other discourses are present. To illustrate, the Islamic Ö1 (301) conceptualises the West as a small, non-homogeneous, geographical centre that has been able to establish a hegemony, and for the last two centuries has made it to its goal in the frame of this hegemony to transform non-European societies. Its values, which have been introduced to the world in a small geography, have achieved a position where they influence and change a large part of the world. While part of this occurred through discourses, the other part was realised by suppression, colonialism and occupation (Ö1:321-330). The following excerpt clarifies this point of view:

I consider the "West" a small geographic centre that succeeded to establish a hegemony, trying to change and transform non-Western communities in this hegemony for the last two hundred years, as Said mentions in his book. We may also consider America as part of this realm. Europe comprises a smaller geography as the founder of modernisation, it is a place of dilemmas looking for the truth on earth, starting from Descartes and Martin Luther, for

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<sup>75</sup> Coronil (1996: 6) suggests three Occidentalist strategies, 1) the celebration of the Self/Other polarity, 2) the inclusion of the Other into the Self and 3) the destabilisation of the Self by the Other. Among these strategies, all respondents use the second strategy. The first and third strategies are visible only among some Islamic respondents, but are not dominant in the Islamic discourse.

over 500 years. The search for the truth continues, actually the search is for a heaven on earth. This geographic centre has caused important disasters and wars, the values initiated in Europe have influenced and changed the world. I think a part of it was enabled by rhetoric, some of it with colonialism and invasion. (Ö1:350-360)

It should be noted that all discursive sites mention the colonial history of Europe as a negative predication. In the case of the excerpt above, the topos of hegemony through reference to Said is used to gain credibility for the argument that the West dominates the East. The use of the topos of hegemony implicitly indicates a power relationship between unequal partners: the domineering West and the victimised East. Moreover, discourse and acts are seen as two different ways of Western oppression.

Similarly, as an example of the interdiscursivity among respondents regarding Orientalism, an influential Alevi civil society leader Af1 strongly criticises European evaluations of history and attaches to it an Oriental perspective:

Europeans forgave the Serbs, but I do not understand why they accuse the Ottomans. The Armenian case was actually a reaction to a provocation. Moreover, the same applies for the Balkan Wars, but we do not call it genocide. Nevertheless in the Ottoman context it suddenly becomes an Armenian genocide. Europeans know very well what the case is, but does not say anything about it, does not reveal it. The same can be seen in other issues, too. Europe does not see things with which it is not comfortable. An Orientalist perspective, unilateral assessment and modelling and when it once has shaped a region, you cannot get out of this reference frame anymore, no matter what you do against it. You experience this, Europeans don't have a critical view on things, even if they should call this criticism; this is a Club Game among them. (Af2:755-770)

The excerpt above once again refers to the Orientalism of Europe and the “shaping” of other regions of the world according to its interests. In order to strengthen his argument that Europeans lack critical views, he notes that the Armenian case is regarded by European countries as genocide and contrasts that to other historical events disregarded by Europe. Afterwards, he mentions the attitude of Europe towards other parts of the world with the topos of Orientalism.

Whilst talking about superiority-inferiority relationship between West and Turkey, a conservative respondent A1 (605) also referred to Edward Said. In her view, the Orient is imagined, and Europeans started to perform Oriental studies using this imagined picture as a starting point. Additionally, she mentions that all societies that define themselves as technologically, juridical, politically, socially developed regard the East as the Other, as regressive, and thus establish a development plan that results in the domination of these societies (A1:610-615). The following excerpt clarifies her point of view:

Just as the social theories explain, there is a superiority-inferiority relation between Western and Eastern societies. We want to be part of Western society and we are trying hard to do it. I have travelled to many European countries for educational or other purposes, when you are there you question yourself about these concepts. What is the West? What is Europe? What is the European continent? The last one is a weird concept, we call Australia a continent, but Europe is not like Australia. It is not a continent surrounded by water like America. I don't believe in the Western-Eastern distinction, I think these are categories that were somehow built in our mind, as Laclau mentions. Edward Said pictures the Oriental, people try to work on the Oriental concept; they are describing themselves as a judicially, politically, socially developed community and take their model as a final point for other societies. (A1:630-642)

In the excerpt above, after stressing the theory of Orientalism in order to discredit the West/East distinction, A1 refers to Laclau and Mouffe, who claim that territories are seen as a solid, natural places through the territorialisation of history, the creation of non-historical territories. Hence, ahistoricity lead to a separation of societies from the outside world. This illusion gives rise to a misinterpretation of history in seeing the different territories a result of independent history. Accordingly, the products of international social-historical interactions seem to us to be the internal characteristics of some labels or units such as the West, the Third World, the East, the South or intranational subunits like ethnic minorities. In the construction of collective identity, every society produces ideas about themselves and the Other in relation to their cultural traditions. The respondent in referring to Laclau discredits the truth of the concepts of West and East, and regards them instead as constructions.

An Islamic CSO leader from a human rights organization M1 (425-435) sees Europe as a heterogeneous entity and mentions that just as there is no single Turkey, there is also no single Europe. M1 mentions that by reading history, the West is synonymous with the Crusades and, when one thinks about the Second World War, they will immediately be reminded of Hitler. However, when one looks at it from an economic perspective, Europe reflects a welfare state that meets the needs of its own people and protects its citizens. In terms of human rights, the West, in contrast with Asian and Islamic countries, has a structure that has come a long way in this arena. At the same time, M1 (438-440) argues that just because someone initiated the Crusades or caused the collapse of the Ottoman Empire during the Independence War, it does not mean that their grandchildren should be enemies. Even in the Islamic case, the discourse brings with it some degree of positive representation of the West, whereby it does not neglect the dark sides in its history. It should again be noted that a close interdiscursivity and intertextuality with Edward Said's theory of Orientalism is present, whereby Huntington's<sup>76</sup> thesis of the clash of civilisations is rejected:

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<sup>76</sup> Huntington (1993) suggests in his thesis that the main source of conflict in world politics is cultural, stating: "The clash of civilisations will dominate global politics". According to Huntington, ideological and political

The clash of civilisations was invented by the Europeans to strengthen their side and to destroy the other side. They consider themselves as the main civilisation and all other civilisations as second-class. The first-class civilisation will destroy the second-class in time, the conflicts are created by Europeans. Some Muslims may have rebelled against this, but the beginning of the problem is the intolerance of the Europeans that try to alienate not just Muslims, but the whole East. This is why they can't enable an equal, participative and just competition. The enrichment of the Europeans colonising Africa and Asia is obvious, but they never esteemed freedom for these communities. You can see this clearly in Africa, they are still exploiting Africa. When you are aware of this, your reservoir of confidence grows, and you don't want to stop being on the safe side and to criticise. You try to be yourself while establishing a relation with the other, it is very important to be yourself. (M1:503-521)

The above extract reveals another important interdiscursivity among respondents, namely that Europa exploits the East and Africa. According the Islamic CSO leader, M1, Huntington's concept of the clash of civilisations constitutes a European invention in order to make themselves strong and to eliminate other parties. According to this belief, Europeans deem themselves as the dominant, noble civilization and all others as second-class civilisations. M1 (529-532) mentions that the West aggressively stresses that the first-class civilisation will destroy the second-class civilisations. Even if some Muslims may have reacted to this, he sees the main reason for Western intolerance as the continuing alienation of not only Muslims, but the entire East. Hence, according to his belief, the West never allows fair competition. According to M1 (440), it is commonly known how the West has exploited Africans and Asians, how it became rich even though they never granted any rights to these nations. M1 mentions that Europe still exploits Africa, raising doubts about the EU (M1:450-460). We see here an explicit linkage to European exploitation and the CSO leader's sceptical attitude towards the EU.

As we look at the statements of the civil society leaders, the majority of them criticise Europe's colonial past. An influential Alevi civil society leader, Af2 (682), criticises the exploitation of different countries by Europe with an anti-Western attitude and by praising the Ottoman Empire's communal spirit where, according to him, different religions and ethnics lived together peacefully:

The Anatolian community is better at tolerating different cultures and beliefs compared to Europe. If we were not better in it, the Ottoman Empire wouldn't have been able to exist for over five to six hundred years in lands up to Hungary. The community spirit presented by the first Ottomans was very important. The German, the English have implemented it

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differences do not matter, the main conflict centres on the differences between eight civilisations that he defines as Western (Europe and North America), Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and African civilizations. Turkey's membership in the European Union often served as a way of disproving the clash of civilisations thesis by advocates for Turkey's membership in the European Union (Aydin 2006:447).

nowhere. England went to India and suppressed the Indians, imposed its values on them as the boss and the Indians were regarded as slaves. The English went to South Africa, South Africa is still in the liberation stage. The French went to Dakar, and Dakar is probably not liberated yet. They went to Algeria, to Tunisia, and sucked them dry until the last drop. Those people still cannot decide whether they are now French or Arabs. (Af2:784-790)

As seen in the interview extracts from various respondents, Europe is constructed in two-dimensional views in which positive and negative traits intermingle. This type of argumentation gains its power both from Europe's colonial history as well as from its civilizational achievements. The argumentations mainly depict Europe as a mechanical entity far from collectivist attitudes. This is more visible in the utilisation of the topos of individualism and the topos of collectivity. Additionally, an Islamic CSO representative mentions the cultural hegemony of the West over other parts of the world:

There is a hegemonic culture surpassing the European Union, a cultural structure born and established in the Western community. It influences all the non-Western communities today: the Eastern, Indian, Chinese and Far Eastern communities as well as African and Latin American communities. The individual is influenced by Western approaches to education, family, tastes, culture, arts, economics; he is being changed and transformed. We do not appreciate it and find it dangerous (Ö1:129-137).

This response demonstrates the characteristics of value-based Euroscepticism and predicates the Western culture as a threat to the indigenous values and norms.

Moreover, Ö1 and M1 refer to the Al-Andalus<sup>77</sup> as an historical argument to stress the hostile attitude of the Christian West towards Muslims and the constitution of Islam as a potential Other:

The Muslims established a state in Andalucía: Al-Andalus. When the Westerners came and conquered Andalucía, they did not leave anything about Islam. There was a massacre there, they cleansed the whole area of Islam. There is nothing like this in Islam: the Ottoman Empire conquered Istanbul, they built mosques but did not devastate the churches (Ö1:151-156).

In Sicily, there is not even a single Islamic stone left now. In Andalucía, the Cordoba Mosque has been transformed in a museum, but there is no other mosque left. But when you travel to Lebanon, to Iraq, you will see that the churches have remained there for over 2000 years. You see that despite the despotic leaders in the Islamic world, the Muslims are far more developed in the sense of freedom and respect compared to the West (M1:282-290).

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<sup>77</sup> In *Medieval Islamic Civilisation*, a detailed work by various scholars, Ruano (2004: 43) describes Al-Andalus: "Al-Andalus is a theme used to refer to the Iberian peninsula territories that were ruled by Islamic regimes between 711 and 1492... 1. Al-Andalus constituted an Islamic Mediterranean society (which meant a disruption with the previous Hispano-Roman and Visigoth societies), and it was distinct from the feudal societies of Christian Medieval Europe... 2. Al-Andalus has to be set in the wider context of the pre-modern Islamic West. The discontinuity with the previous historical reality is evident in the new forms of government, territory organisation, production, fiscal system, legal system, religious life, and generational and patrimonial transmission within the family."

Notwithstanding the fact that there are more differentiated accounts among Islamic respondents, these extracts share a common characteristic that by highlighting civilisational and religious differences through referring to select historic eras, they systematically exclude alternative readings. In the binary dichotomy constructed between Islam and Christianity, Christianity is viewed as more aggressive. A close look at the predicational/referential strategies utilised in discussions over the West/Europe reveals that across the majority of the Islamic and conservative leaders Europe is consistently constructed as a colonial power that strongly opposes to Islam and its values as can be seen in the following excerpt:

We see that evangelism and neo-cons are effective in Europe; there also is a wave that relates Christianity to Judaism, Christianity to Zionism, this is quite powerful. What was the first sign of fascism in the '30? It was the enmity for Judaism, there was no Islam. The fascism of today conceives of Israel as a friend, the Muslims as a danger, check the perspective and the scripts of the guy from the attack in Norway (Ö1:70-79).

This points to the dominance of neo-conservatism in Europe. The Islamic respondent, in contrast to other conservative/Islamic civil society leaders, devotes little attention to Europe's merits, instead focussing on Europe's colonial history of Europe in Al-Andalus, neo-conservatism and evangelism and Orientalism. The emphasis is mainly on the negative attitude of Europe/the West to Islam. However, the Islamic respondent M1's discussion of the history of civilisation suggests a different reading of history:

The process of Enlightenment that established the real Europe is Andalusian history. When we look at sources, we see that most of the texts were translated from Arabic, they are Islamic texts, as well as some of the classical Greek texts that were translated to Arabic. Ibn-Sina read Aristotle, he learned about Plato from the scripts of Islamic philosophers. This relation had a vast influence. A short time later, Europe succeeded in erasing and hiding everything that concerns Islam in this area. From today's point of view, everybody who is talking about the influence of Islam, i.e. the Arabian, Persian and Turkish influence, is talking about abstract things, it sounds fantastic. But when we check sources from the beginning of the age of Enlightenment, I personally think that there was a large influence (M1:401-413).

M1's comments suggest a more differentiated reading of the history of civilisations by emphasising the role of Islam. That religious conflict is built into the concept of the West, particularly in opposition to Islam, is criticised by Islamic respondents as a provocation that encourages Islamophobia. Generally Islamic respondents stress that Europeans should accept that "Muslims have been part of the fabric of European history for centuries, not only in al-Andalus but also in the Ottoman territories" (Ernst 2007:2).<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> These statements are good examples for the argumentation strategy of Islamic CSO leaders: "The enormous economic and technical benefits that Europeans seized from their Oriental subjects, plus a fair amount of luck, undoubtedly played an enormous role in fashioning what we consider today the modern West, although there is an

Moreover, various other discursive strategies are employed by the Islamic and conservative respondents to illustrate that Europe cannot overcome regarding Islam as its enemy. The following extract points out to the unjust interpretation of Islam and criticises the construction of Islam as aggressive:

From the European point of view, there is this hollow fear. It is hollow because there is no Eastern community that could successfully carry out such an attack in the military, political and economic sense. On the contrary, there are constant attacks from Europe and America on Islamic communities. Look at the example of Palestine. The accomplices of Israel are America and Europe, they are supporting Israel. The occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq are provided by this structure from which Europe is also a part. They tell us that the Muslims have constantly conquered for hundreds of years. There is no such thing. Fear should be just. Who is going to conquer where? Let's think that Turkey gets a bit stronger, where would it conquer? Nowhere. This is all bullshit (D1:113-121).

As seen in other extracts, the respondent above accuses the West as being unjust towards Islam and demands a more egalitarian view. The following extract points to cultural differences and can be regarded as a prototypical example of the value-based Euroscepticism observable among Islamic respondents:

Let's face it, we have a different structure. In our communal structure an elderly person is respected, called major; in the Western structure they call an elderly person by their name. It may not seem to be a big thing, it is not Allah making us respect the elderly, this is not an order, the theoretical structure of Islam is quite complicated. For example, in the cases of abortion and homosexuality, we should act like God as told in the Holy Book. This is why we don't appreciate things that would make our youth tolerate and accept such concepts. There is a list of matters relating to this.. But, as I mentioned before, there is a bigger hegemony than the European Union, we may call it a postmodern structure, but there is a structure that changes all Eastern societies. Let's say that the conjugal contract has been dissolved in the West, the number of conjugal communities decrease every day, most of the people don't know why they marry each other anymore. The number of divorces are also increasing in Eastern societies, not just in Turkey. There are more divorces in Iran than in Turkey. The increasing divorce rates in Islamic societies are not appreciated, even if they are not as numerous as in Catholic societies. There is a paradigm that dominates everybody; it's a post-modern paradigm. It affects Iran, Pakistan, people must not be at the same place, the socio-economic development becomes widespread with communication tools. (Ö1:140-159)

The excerpt above constructs the widely discerned unchanging cultural distinctiveness between the East and the West. It stresses an inherent incompatibility between Europe and Turkey in terms of religion, culture, norms and values, which is a strong sign of cultural Euroscepticism. This essentialist view sees cultural characteristics as different. It refers to the concept of post-

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undeniable tendency for Europeans to claim superiority as result of their own intrinsic civilizational virtue." (Ernst 2007:2). Moreover, Ernst mentions that historians such as Hobson have started to question "the Eurocentric discourse that implies a kind of intellectual apartheid regime in which the superior West is quarantined off from the inferior East." (Hobson 2004:283 cit. in Ernst 2007:4).

modernism in order to stress the spread of Western values to other parts of the world. The excerpt supposes that Europe and Turkey are mutually exclusive due to their static cultures that are by nature antagonistic to one another.

The excerpt below uses the metaphor cultural schizophrenia to explain the difficulty of the East's processes of identity formation under the influence of the West:

This happens in most Eastern communities, it is kind of a cultural schizophrenia. The mind and the behaviour are in conflict. Eastern on one side, Western on the other, this conflict makes it a kind of schizophrenia, it is the fact to develop a different behaviour than one actually is, this is a cultural schizophrenia. The thesis belongs to non-Western societies, not just Turkish society. The West is trying to transform them by force or with content, the other side does not want to change because the mentioned symptoms show up. (Ö1:190-197)

This statement exemplifies the difficulty for Eastern countries to undergo identity formation processes. In using the metaphorical world of cultural schizophrenia, it exemplifies the conflicts that non-Western countries experience in adapting Western values. This interview extract formulates a binary contrast around the nodal points of East and West that are regarded as different cultural forms, and the values imposed on the East in the process of modernisation. Nevertheless, even the Islamic discourse contains hope for the co-existence of Western and Islamic civilisations:

Western and Islamic Civilizations can co-exist. There are many examples of this, look at Andalucía. There was a massacre, but when we take a closer look, we see the influence of the changing socio-economic structure. Diversity is always a risk, this is where the totalitarian regimes take their power. They may initiate a conflict telling that Armenians will kill Turks, I consider this to be a game of the governing powers to preserve their power. There are many different communities living side by side in Turkey, if the government would guarantee it, they could better experience this variety. I don't believe that every Christian and Muslim coming side by side will start fighting, this depends on who controls the common statement, this is why Western states don't accept a common life with communities they consider as a threat. (M1:301-311)

The above excerpt again shows the possibility of Christian and Muslim co-existence for the Islamic respondent. However, the same Islamic respondent below stressed his worries regarding the Islamophobia in the West:

There are a variety of difficulties we experience in Europe and we don't want to get exploited, we want to compete as equal individuals, equal in the sense of competition, justice, sharing and humanity. An Islamophobia has been established since the 11<sup>th</sup> of September against Muslims, which shows up in the application of laws, maybe you are aware of this since you live in Europe. We are worried about it, to compete in every way with people is important for us. (M1:251-256)



Nevertheless, even the conservative and Islamic discourse attempts to relativise the perceived negative sides of the West. Islamic and conservative leaders use the perspectivation strategy of heterogeneous Europe that can be interpreted differently depending on the context. The following extract is a good example of this tendency:

What does the West evoke for you? It depends of your point of view. When you read about history, then it reflects the Crusades; when reading about the Second World War, then it reflects Hitler; when you look at the economic aspect, it reflects a state of wealth that answers the needs of the community. When you compare it with Asian and Islamic countries in the human rights aspect, it has a developed structure. It depends on your point of view. Your aspect of conjunction, if you experienced the trauma of 11 September, if they make you wait hours in the airport, for example a friend of mine had to wait 4 hours in Netherlands in the past week, if you were treated as a terrorist as my friend who actually travels frequently for business purposes, then you have a different perception. But if you are reading philosophy or preparing an academic research, you perceive a different Europe there. There is not just one Europe, there are many other faces of Europe; the face you are occupied with faces you (M1:370-382).

Even if the West is accused of Islamophobia, and there is a tendency towards value-based and cultural Euroscepticism in the Islamic discourse, the above excerpt shows that the positive sides of Europe and West such as the economic welfare or human rights developments are accepted and appreciated by Islamic respondents. Generally, it can be claimed that the dual perspective of the West still continues, even if negative or critical statements have more weight in the Islamic discourse, stemming from Western Islamophobia.

Another conservative respondent stresses the humanitarian and forgiving aspect of Islam and relates it to attitudes towards European Union in the following excerpt:

The initial principle of Islam for a Muslim is not to humiliate anybody. Our Prophet said: "You can't be Muslim unless you wish something that you want for yourself also for another." In this aspect, a Muslim must wish everything he wants in the economic, juridical aspect for everybody else too, whether they believe or not. He has to be just. Justice is the basis of Islam, when we take this aspect a Muslim must be just even if the other one is not. We don't need to be eternal rivals with the European Union just because of the Crusades or the downfall of the Ottoman Empire during the Independence War (A1:130-137).

The above excerpt claims that historical experiences are not effective in today's attitudes towards the European Union. This pragmatic turn constitutes an important argumentation strategy in the Islamic-conservative discourse. Islamic and conservative respondents generally claim that Europeans fought between themselves for a long time, but today they cooperate and forget the negative parts of history. This constitutive attitude can be seen in the excerpt below:

The human consciousness is interesting. For a Muslim, forgiveness is important. This is not a one-sided mechanism, if it works reciprocally, when you take a step and the other side also takes a step, you try not to mention the conflicts of the past. For example, with

the Armenian issue and the Greece issue, some things have happened in the past. People have hanged each other, there was a conflict, maybe the Ottoman Empire made a big mistake. But to condemn the descendants for this won't solve the problem. You have to heal the wounds (A1:199-206).

As discussed previously, one important negative predication of Europe that is continuously reproduced in the Islamic discourses is of a civilisation that is locked into a state of treating Islam as a historic enemy. This is a major tendency in Othering practices. As has been demonstrated, this representation has been achieved through various discursive strategies that in turn construct Europe/the West as the locus of fascism, Islamophobia, neo-conservatism, Evangelism and Orientalism. The Islamic and conservative respondents' predication and referential strategies construct Europe as a locus of Islamophobia, whereas Turkey is represented as a victim. Nevertheless, this negative attitude is relativised through a strategy envisioning a heterogeneous Europe consisting of different parts and different tendencies.

Another surprising strategy mainly observed among the conservative respondents is to reject the concepts of the West and the East, and instead regard them as constructed and view categorisation as unnecessary. To illustrate, the Islamic-conservative respondent A1 thinks that concepts such as West and East are imagined and constructed concepts whose meanings is not fixed and prone to change:

Occidentalism is also a concept in people's minds, a distinction between Western and Eastern. This is a fictitious idea: we are looking at patterns established in our head for all identities, we see a double structure when we look this way, but I don't think that identities are that clear-cut. We always say that we will take the example of science and technology of the West and leave their immorality. There are discussions on different platforms as technological and scientific development on one side, moral, religious and culture on the other side. I don't think these may be conceived distinctively. These ambiguities are in identities. When we talk about technology, I can't imagine a distinctive technology and science separate from moral and communal culture. I don't have a positive view on this. We look at the West, categorise it, we wish to take the technology and science and leave the immorality, category by category. (A1:402-418)

The above excerpt uses as its referential strategy the famous differentiation by Ziya Gökalp<sup>79</sup> between culture and civilisation, and criticises the conservative-Islamic attitude to modernisation or Westernisation. According to Gökalp's conceptualisation, civilisation means the technology and production methods that are taken from the West. At the same time, customs should be protected without changes. Hence, Westernisation should be understood as the

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<sup>79</sup> Bonnett (2002) analyses the work of the Japanese Westerniser and nationalist Fukuzawa Yukichi and the Turkish nationalist and critical proponent of Westernisation, Ziya Gökalp, and shows that that the relation between the "non-West" and West is not staged simply in the form of a dualistic opposition from the point of view of these intellectuals. Hence, he concludes that there are further categories that complicate the analysis of Western perceptions.

implementation of certain facilities and technologies, not the adoption of a Western worldview (*Weltanschauung* in German) in society. The above extract is quite sceptical about this view and claims that the two cannot be separated, deeming such a categorization unnecessary. It implicitly criticises Prime Minister Erdoğan's statement on this issue.<sup>80</sup>

The conservative-Islamic CSO leader representing the Gulen Movement, a transnational social, religious and political movement led by the Turkish Islamic scholar Fethullah Gülen, rejects that Europe is based on religious references in the following excerpt:

I don't think religion is distinctive for relations and references to the European world. I guess that diplomatic relations of the Western world are determined by state profit, for state profit matters economic income and efficiency in world politics, because religion as a distinctive factor in a Europe with a structure composed of so many different cultures and religions would be risky. In preserving this multicultural structure, they would be building relations that would be profitable for state interests. That's why they shouldn't have an attitude against Islam or any other religion. (G1:18-35)

The above excerpt demonstrates a pragmatic and interest-based view of relations between the West and the East, as can be observed among many conservative CSO leaders. Similarly, on the issue of drawing lines with the West, G1 sees no necessity for "border management" with the West:

I don't think that we should talk about drawing a line with today's conditions, but, as I explained before, we should be careful about provocations concerning nationalism. I don't know if there are thoughts of assimilation behind the issue of the minorities to explain themselves and to protect their rights in Turkey. Naturally, we should get the best out of our dense relations and contact with Europe during the integration process. We should in the meantime be careful not to get infected by the illnesses and social problems that cause problems and issues concerning the human values of the European community. (G1:70-78)

As can be seen in the above excerpts from the Gülen Movement representative, their discourse mainly displays moderate characteristics ranging from Europragmatism to Euroscepticism in Kopecky and Mudde's terms.

Moreover, regarding the Muslim population in Europe, G1 stresses the importance of the education for a better dialogue:

I also think that it is important that the Muslims living in Europe should beware of radicalism and be open for the collective approach to Islam because if they don't understand the interpretations of Islam for contemporary living, they would build ghettos and conflicts with the rest of the society would start. They should preserve their identities and adopt the understanding of service today from the Islam. This movement is focussed on education, a major deficiency for Muslims is a lack of education. Consequently, the human force of Muslims to get transformed into an educated human force will raise the Muslim's

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<sup>80</sup> Prime Minister Erdoğan said: "We adopted neither the science nor the art of the West. We have unfortunately adopted the immorality of the West, contrary to our own values" (Hürriyet January 2008).

confidence. Geography is a good basis to educate people and value this human force. The lack of confidence and anxiety concerning security for Muslims could be reversed with a culture of peace and tolerance by the European Union, this would also effect the establishment of security and peace for possible conflicts concerning minorities in the European Union. (G1 303-314)

The above extract sees the solution in a better dialogue between Muslims and the need for a better education for them in Europe. This movement generally utilises sober concepts in their discourses such as tolerance, service, security, peace, integration and dialogue, as can be observed in the excerpt above.

A liberal respondent H1 thinks that Europe should learn to live with different religions than Christianity:

Europe is living solely with Christianity. The European Union is not familiar with it, it doesn't know yet. In the Middle East, all religions live together, in Europe Christians cannot even live with the Orthodox. When they have to live together, one destroys the other. This was the case with the Jewish community... Multiculturalism is possible on the basis of democracy, besides it's a lie: there is no method about how to apply it, the only method is "which is the best". The republican French model would conclude that everybody is equal except Muslims... In German multiculturalism ghettos similar to the American model would arise. Differences are respected so much that the minority does not know anything about the culture of the community he is part of. So, there is no formula for it. It's important is how individuals feel and which means they possess to get part of the community. I think that this is what matters... (H1:102-112)

Hence, the CSO leaders agree upon the fact that Europe should focus on multiculturalism and should free himself from its biases. This argumentation strategy is a common discourse among the different groups of CSO leaders.

## ***Conclusion***

The analysis suggests that a two-sided view of the West and Europe dominate the discourse in all discursive settings. In the Islamic discourse, there are tendencies toward a more essentialist view based on religious and cultural differences, converging into value-based and cultural Euroscepticism. Hence, Occidentalism takes a more nuanced form with reference to the merits and deficits of Europe and the West rather than being only one-dimensional interpretations of these concepts. The analysis identifies two main representations of the West through which CSO leaders construct a discursive space. One concerns the representation of the West as the locus of modernity, human rights and Enlightenment-based democracy. The second representation entails the exploitative and colonialist West as stressed by the Islamic respondents with particular reference to the case of Al-Andalus and by other respondents

mainly referring to the West's colonial history. Hence, the constructions of Europe and the West are realised through the construction of a Europe on the basis of selected historical factors. The analysis also indicates that there is strong interdiscursivity among the CSO leaders in terms of their emphasis on Orientalism. The discourses overwhelmingly predicate Europe on one side as a locus of modernity and civilisation, and on the other as a locus of colonialism and exploitation.

Accordingly, the discourse overwhelmingly constructs the West in a two-dimensional view. It is only in the Islamic discursive setting that a tendency toward value-based and cultural Euroscepticism is visible, and Europe is constructed in many statements as being comprised of Islamophobia, including harsh criticism of Islam. Nevertheless, even in the Islamic discourse, the essentialist view is relativised in stressing the heterogeneous character of the West and Europe and referring to civilisational achievements. In other groups of CSO leaders' discourses, Occidentalism does not only have a negative connotation, but it also takes into account that the image of the West is a part of national identity that is incorporated into the understanding of modernity. This dual representation of the West is observed among all ideological groups of civil society leaders. Left-wing, conservative, social democratic, liberal, Alevi and even Islamic civil society leaders employ similar historical narratives of Europe. The respondents do not often engage in constructing clear-cut binary distinctions between Europe and Turkey or West and East. Referential strategies attained through phrases such as "the Other" are not intended to put the West and East into binary opposition. There is an openness to alternative narratives and they are not systematically denied in the discourse on the Europe and West. At the same time, the concepts of the West and the East are regarded as constructed and Huntington's thesis of the clash of civilisations is criticised and extensively denied.

The respondents also reject the West's privileged position in the history of the arts, cultures and sciences as marginalising the East. Islamic respondents especially are in line with the arguments of Hasan Hannafi in changing the roles of the West and East. All respondents are against Eurocentrism based on superiority of the West and historical pride. The Islamic respondents in particular expressed a desire to correct the relationship between the East and the West. The arguments of the Islamic respondents especially criticise false interpretations of history, as can be seen in the following extract by Hasan Hannafi:

The history of the world was written as if the West was the very centre of the Universe and the end of history. History of ancient civilizations was reduced to the minimum. History of modern times in the West is blown up to the maximum. Three thousand years of the Orient are summarized in one chapter, while five hundred years of history of the modern West is expounded in several chapters. Orientalism was the victim of Western philosophies of history, which conceived Europe as the peak of all civilizations, the fruits

in modern times after planting the seeds in ancient times, the accomplishment of a theological development, the perfection of things after the abrogation of all previous imperfections, the unique Christ after the prophets of Israel, repeated in history. Occidentalism aims at evening the balance of World historiography against this historical injustice in history of world civilization. (Hannafi 2010)

To sum up, the interview data sheds further light on constructed representations of the West. As typical of the Occidental discourse in Turkey, two-sided view of Europe is present. However, the weight of the positive and negative discourses differ between respondents depending on their ideological tendencies. We can see a strong opposition to culturalist, Eurocentric arguments against the East that are based on a conception of culture as an essentialising and totalising entity and used to justify the superiority of Western culture and the exclusion of Turkey from the EU.

Besides culture, history and religion, other argumentation strategies are also used to represent Europe/the West and its effects on Turkey. In order to enforce their arguments of exploitation and colonialism of the West, the discourse participants use the argumentation strategy of Orientalism, referring to Edward Said, who claims that the West defines the East according to its own preferences. Although “the cultural gap between conservatives, and the secularists is both vast and socially illuminating” (Akyol 2011:18), a strong interdiscursivity can be seen between these camps with regards to the criticism of Orientalism and denial of Huntington’s clash of civilisations thesis. The following argument is a good example of the general attitude of the CSO leaders:

The history of European attitudes and prejudices towards the East are due for a re-examination. Martin Luther described the Turks as the anti-Christ and the agents of the devil. Voltaire and Lord Byron argued passionately in favour of chasing Turkish barbarians out of Europe. In a rather telling and illustrative narrative, the nineteenth-century British Prime Minister William Gladstone concluded that the Turks were “upon on the whole, from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one great anti-human specimen of humanity.” Unsurprisingly, in view of this thesis, Gladstone demanded that Europe should be thoroughly cleansed of the Turks. Here lies another normative imperative: The gatekeepers of the European normative agenda must now explicitly confront Europe’s orientalism. In order to repudiate its previous misdeeds, Europe must treat Turkey as an equal and welcome partner (Altınay 2011:39).

In all the discursive sites under analysis, a representation of Europe as an upholder of positive values and as a locus of negative ones can be discerned. The ways in which these representations relate to the construction of Europe is nonetheless subject to variation across and between different analysis sites. These negative and positive representations are realised through various referential/predication and argumentation strategies in the discourses. The discourse about

Europe varies slightly among civil society leaders, mainly according to their religious and ideological inclinations. However, commonalities and similarities in the discourses are present, especially in the topos of the colonial and exploitative West and in the topos of liberal/democratic Europe and Europe as a location where human rights are more developed.

Generally, images of Europe exist on a continuum, from colonialist or fascist at one end to the locus of democracy and freedom on the other. It can be concluded that Occidentalism not only denotes anti-Westernism, understood as hatred against Western social structures and values, and a threat to the core values, but has a more differentiated view, incorporating positive representations of the West. Argumentative strategies on the West indicate positive and negative dimensions among the analysed discourses, whereby the filling of positive and negative characteristics differs slightly among the discursive sites. The left-wing respondents reject the understanding proposed by modernisation theories that do not take international dependencies into account and reject a superiority/inferiority relationship. It should be underlined that there generally is no essentialising of the West with reference to culture, religion and history (observable only to a certain extent with two Islamic CSO leaders). Rather, a differentiated and dynamic perception of the West is the case. It should be emphasised that another referential strategy common to discriminatory discourses, that of hyper pronominalisation, is not utilised.<sup>81</sup> Rather, the interaction between the two entities is emphasised. We observe a relativisation of the West and no essentialisation of the notion of civilisation. There was also no consistent exclusion of alternative narratives of democratic, scientific, cultural progress in Europe/the West.

To summarise again, Europe is negatively predicated as colonialist and positively predicated as the bearer of democracy and modernity. Generally, the referential strategy to Orientalism criticises the view of the West on the East that treat history, and present the East as inferior and at a lower stage of development, as Edward Said handles it in his work. The West's sense of superiority is a major concern in all discursive sites. They strongly reject that Turkey should be treated as an immature, backward society longing to be liberated from itself. However, as a response to this, they are not inclined towards anti-Western attitudes as Buruma and Margalit have identified as a reaction to Western imperialism and colonialism in Asia. There is no prejudiced view of the West that contains hatred of the West. The West is not portrayed as corrupt or degenerate by any of the CSO leaders. The forms of Occidentalism

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<sup>81</sup> Through the linguistic use of “there”, together with the use of other distancing pronouns such as “they” and “their own”, the two entities (Turkey and Europe) are distanced from each other.

dominant in the discourse above all tend not in one direction, or towards excluding and denigrating the West. However, an allowance for mutual influence is regarded more important.

Throughout this chapter, I tried to elaborate the ways in which Occidental discourse is produced, exercised and maintained by the CSO leaders. However, both the effects and content of Occidental discourse are varied in Turkey. The respondents are careful with typifications, classifications, and labelling and reducing the West to an imagined essence. To conclude, there is not a direct negative effect observable on the European Integration Process on Turkey stemming from general attitudes towards the West and from historical fears. While we expect that binary oppositions will enable clear meanings, definitions and attitudes, the West confuses the respondents, as it is not clearly identifiable and is thus determined rather ambiguously and relatively (see Bauman 1992). In Turkish civil society discourses, Occidentalism refers not to non-Western stereotypes of the West or persistent responses to Western modernity, as Western-style modernity is also inherent in their own culture. Hence, the vision of the West is rather non-monolithic and pluralistic.

The analysis reveals that, in the respondents' discourse, Occidentalism does not refer to the definition used by Burma and Margalit as "the dehumanising picture of the West painted by its enemies..." (Burma and Margalit 2005:5). In the following discourse, this essentialist use of the term can easily be dismissed. There is a strong interdiscursivity among the CSO leaders in terms of being against the image of a superior civilisation that is destined to rule other parts of the world, whether in overt political hegemony or through the more subtle form of neoliberalism.

It should be underlined that as for the implications of Euroscepticism; Kemalist, social democratic, liberal, conservative, Islamic and Alevi CSO leaders do not use arguments based on strong anti-Western sentiments that may lead to hard Euroscepticism (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2002) or to Eurorejectionism (Koppecky and Mudde 2002). Concerning this chapter, there are no signs of political Euroscepticism, but important traces of value-based Euroscepticism, especially in Islamic discourses. Furthermore, some Islamic respondents show a tendency towards cultural Euroscepticism (Leconte 2010). It should be underlined, however, that nationalist CSO leaders are underrepresented in this thesis.<sup>82</sup>

However, the rather negative views of the one Islamic CSO leader based on cultural anxiety were not shared by other Islamic and conservative civil society leaders. Mainly, they

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<sup>82</sup> It should be emphasised that the nationalist camp is underrepresented in this chapter. This is due to the fact that despite all my efforts in Ankara, I could not get an appointment with the nationalist civil society leaders despite in three cases sending all of the questions I would ask during the interview in advance. This can be regarded as a strong sign of hard Euroscepticism. Nevertheless, the attitude of the nationalist camp towards the West is well-researched and documented in Turkish academia.



showed a reaction to the essentialist view in the West about a fast-growing and dominant Muslim population. The more negative views of the West by Muslims are nurtured by the fact that despite the peaceful existence of Muslims in different EU member countries, Islam has since 9/11 and the bombings in Madrid and London increasingly been treated as dangerous and incompatible with European values of tolerance, democracy and rationality. That Muslims are depicted as a threat for Western democracy, especially by populist right-wing parties, and discriminated against leads to distrust in Europe by some Islamic CSO leaders (see Fekete 2004, 2006). The majority of the respondents, however, evaluate culture not essentially, but rather regard it in the process of creating, as aptly put by Gerd Baumann (1999, 2004). Cultural fundamentalism (Stolcke 1995) is not mainly the case. As Ahiska mentions, Occidentalism “...opens a space for the positivity of the other – its experiences, utterances and practices-instead of adopting the negative definition of the other in the theories of Orientalism,” (Ahiska 2003:365) and “the virtual viewpoint of the West, which is the product or double projection, oscillates between recognition and rejection, leading to a series of splits” (Ahiska 2003:366). One can clearly see that the positive comments about the West are not indicative of Euroenthusiasm or what the Persian liberal Taqizadeh describes as a “surrender to Western civilisation” (Boroujerdi 2006:194). These attitudes are not similar to the anti-colonial manifesto from the Iranian intellectual Jalal Al-e Ahmad in *Westoxification*<sup>83</sup> [*Gharbzadegi*] that defends cultural authenticity against subservience to the West. Hence, the West is not essentialised so that one can speak of “ethno-Occidentalism”, “a kind of reverse racism that attributes unwavering qualities of negativity as almost a genetic identity for the West,” as Hasan Hannafi does in the book *Introduction to the Science of Occidentalism* [*Muqaddima fi `ilm alistighrab*] (Ernst 2007:7).<sup>84</sup> The criticism from Islamic respondents resembles Aydin’s recognition of the distinction between the dehumanising Occidentalist discourse on the West and the otherwise authentic Muslim critiques of modernity, international order and colonialism:

Should Muslims, whether Islamic or secular, not criticise the West at all? In the absence of a distinction between dehumanising and progressive critiques, the Occidentalism paradigm can reduce all critiques of the West by Muslims either to an ‘underdeveloped’ copy of German romanticism or to a contagious Eurocentric disease of critique without any humanistic irredeemable content. (Aydin 2006:450)

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<sup>83</sup> Al-e Ahmad diagnosed Westoxification as “the aggregate of events in the life, culture, civilization and mode of thought of the people having no supporting tradition, no historical continuity, and no gradient of transformation.” (Mirsepassi 2006:418).

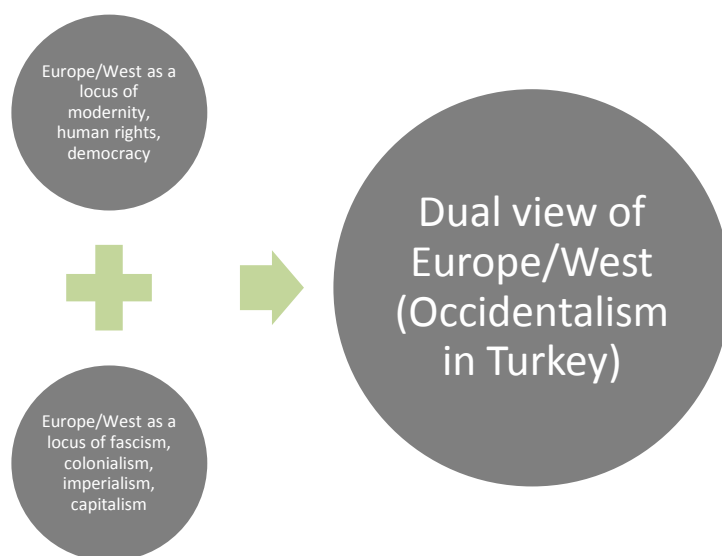
<sup>84</sup> However, some of the Hanafi’s arguments are visible by Islamic respondent, as mentioned earlier.

Moreover, the following statement for Islamic parties is largely justified in the discourse of Islamic CSO leaders<sup>85</sup>:

It is of course striking to see that in recent years Islamic parties in Turkey have become pragmatic advocates of Turkish accession to the European Union, so evidently modifications can be made in the previously negative forms of Occidentalism (Ernst 2007:8).

Figure 5 shows the argumentative strategy regarding the West and Europe in simple terms:

**Figure 5: Occidentalism in Turkish Civil Society**



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<sup>85</sup>Generally, the Islamists use their own vocabulary for describing Europeans. Interviews conducted with Islamists in a variety of countries have shown that the vocabulary of Islamic ethics (*akhlaq*) constitutes the most important critical arguments with the West, in terms of imperialism, materialism and sexual perversity (Sadiki 1998:109 cit. in Ernst 2007:10). Nevertheless, the Islamic discourse in this chapter does not necessarily echo this formulation.

#### ***4.2.2 Strategic Use of the EU Accession Process and Euroscepticism through Domestic Lenses***

The following section focuses exclusively on representations of the European Union through the lenses of Turkish domestic politics and power struggles between different camps. I apply CDA to this debate to reveal the interconnectedness of power and language, drawing on the content of interviews and secondary sources. The section explores the perceived EU support for the AKP despite internal democracy deficits in Turkey and the perceived instrumentalisation of the EU by the AKP. The civil society discourse has had a strong reaction to the ineffectiveness of the EU from which they form their Eurosceptic discourses. Hence, the Eurosceptic discourse necessarily incorporates developments in domestic politics and reflects the negative sentiments towards the EU. The section elaborates that the discourse about European Union tends to have a negative or positive character among civil society leaders depending on their attitude towards the AKP government. I argue that the discourse inclines towards Euroscepticism through the lens of domestic politics for those voices critical of the AKP, and towards Eurocynicism for groups who are in favour of the AKP and have similar religious and ideological inclinations as the government party. That the AKP uses the EU Accession Process strategically causes a transfer of criticism of the EU by an important group of domestic actors, who are critical of AKP policies and perceive the Turkish political system as undemocratic. The following discourse analysis reveals that there is a common Eurosceptic discourse among the critical respondents based on the belief that the EU is strategically used by the AKP and that the EU disregards this misuse despite increasing democracy deficits in Turkey. That the EU is instrumentalised for the AKP's consolidation of power leads to distrust of the EU among civil society leaders because it does not properly react to internal democracy deficits and perceived repressive policies in Turkey. Hence, the EU process is believed to contribute to the AKP's consolidation of power in Turkish politics and civil society. There is a strong interdiscursivity among social democratic, nationalist, left-wing, liberal and Alevi civil society leaders and other opposition groups regarding the misuse of the EU integration process by the AKP.

The strategic use of the EU accession process has been elaborated beforehand in the literature. The instrumentalisation of EU policies and institutions by domestic actors is not a new phenomenon only valid for the Turkish case (Büyükbay 2012). Domestic actors seem to agree with the conditions of the EU, but do nothing to support it and tend to use them as a means to advance their strategic and tactical goals and consolidate power (Jacquot and Woll 2003, Elbasani 2009, Ademmer 2011). In the Turkish context, this was highlighted by European

Parliament President Martin Schulz<sup>86</sup> during his recent official visit to Turkey, where he stated that the EU Parliament has wondered about the sincerity of the AKP's reforms and is now convinced that "the EU is of no importance" to them and the reforms are more of a tactical nature (Hürriyet 2012). Schulz, who has "socialist roots" also visited with the CHP's General President, Kemal Kilicdaroglu, at his office in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. The General Vice President of the CHP, Faruk Logoglu,<sup>87</sup> Istanbul Deputy Umut Oran and Ankara Deputy Gulsun Bilgehan also participated in the meeting. The main topics discussed were Turkey-EU relations, judicial independence, imprisoned deputies and journalists, the "insincerity" of government, the new fundamental law and Cyprus.

Schulz, who supports Turkey's full EU membership, pointed out during his visits with CHP, MHP and BDP leaders that Prime Minister Erdoğan is not the same political personage as he was in the beginning, and criticised him. Schulz said that there is a difference between Erdoğan's previous and present attitudes, and mentioned European disappointment because they had believed he would carry out fundamental reforms instead of tactical ones (Milliyet 29 May 2012:12, Büyükbay 2012d). Additionally, Schulz described the imprisonment of pro-Kurdish deputies as "unacceptable", stressing that "there cannot be such a democracy and democratisation process" (Cumhuriyet 29 May 2012:7). During his visit with CHP President Kilicdaroglu, Schulz strongly criticised the deputies' imprisonment:

This is unacceptable; it cannot be legitimated. In case such an issue would arise in another land during the full membership process, the process would have been stopped immediately. At first, they were promising as a reformist party. Then they stopped. Afterwards, they stopped caring about important issues, starting with democratisation. It is obvious that their attitude and words are tactical (Birgün 29 May 2012:8)

Schulz strongly stated that it was unacceptable in a democratic country for deputies to be imprisoned. If similar problems had occurred in a country other than Turkey, the membership process would immediately be cancelled and the country would be thrown off the membership list.

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<sup>86</sup> Martin Schulz discussed and commented on the situation Turkey to a German newspaper during his visit to Southern Cyprus, just before he came to Turkey. Schulz declared that Turkey had reform fatigue and the European Union had expansion fatigue. For the idea of the positive effect of the good relations between the new French President François Hollande and Turkey, Schulz stated that: "The relations between a [certain] country and Europe are not relative to the change of a president of a European Country." (Birgün 29 May 2012:6). During the meeting, he packed out three themes to discuss: Democracy in Turkey, Turkey-EU relations, Turkey during the European Community Presidency of Southern Cyprus.

<sup>87</sup> The General Vice President of CHP, Faruk Logoglu, said: "This is one of the most important meetings for me, I feel myself in a familiar entourage. Personally, I support unconditionally the membership of Turkey in the European Union. But, unfortunately, Turkey's enthusiasm and efforts for membership in the European Union have decreased, even stopped" (Cumhuriyet 29 May 2012:1). To the topic of imprisoned deputies, Loloğlu argued that it can neither be accepted in any way nor be legitimated and mentioned that such things do not happen in democratic, legalistic countries.

Schulz<sup>88</sup> also declared that the government shows an “unstable and problematic” attitude towards the EU and reforms. Moreover, he said:

We don't understand the attitude of the government towards the European Union. At the beginning, it looked like it was making reforms, but later on the general picture was quite different. The reforms stopped. There is a serious regression for democracy, the superiority of the legal system and human rights. The government shows one aspect of itself during meetings with us, but the truth in Turkey is much different. (Milliyet 29 May 2012:12)

Schulz explained his disapprobation for the EU process during his meeting with the BDP co-chairman Gultan Kisanak, adding his comments on the issue of the new fundamental law. He stated that the new fundamental law should be conform exactly to the EU's fundamental rights condition, and Turkey should internalise the values of the European Union in the new fundamental law.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, while Schulz was answering questions about his meetings in Ankara during a press conference, he said that whenever he talks to Turkish journalists, attorneys and academics, they tell him about their worries about freedom of the press in Turkey (Milliyet 29 May 2012:19). Schulz<sup>90</sup> said: “The freedom of media is under threat. The period of detention is far too long. Imprisoning deputies is unacceptable. Judicial independence is suffering from a severe threat” (Birgün 29 May 2012:6).

Schulz has also criticised the AKP government regarding the latest developments. His critical argumentation is quite observable in the following excerpt:

We are following the situation in Turkey very closely. As Turkey gets closer to the European Union, the problems of Turkish citizens such as freedom, democracy, human rights and freedom of communication are growing bigger. Problems are growing as it gets closer! This is a contrast. Wherever I go, whomever I talk to in Turkey, they keep saying that democracy is under a serious threat. This makes me worry. (Milliyet 2012:19)

Parallel to this scepticism about the AKP's sincerity and the literature regarding the use of the EU for the consolidation of power, a concept is proposed in this thesis in the context of Turkey's EU membership process, namely that the perceived *misuse of the European integration process*

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<sup>88</sup> There has been an interesting dialogue between Schulz and Kilicdaroglu. Schulz asked: “Are there divisions on the European Union issue in the government?” Kilicdaroglu answered: “The government just has one truth, and that is its antidemocratic aspect.” (Milliyet 29 May 2012)

<sup>89</sup> The BDP committee explained their thoughts about Uludere, the KCK Case and the imprisoned deputies. Schulz mentioned the problem of the imprisoned deputies and said that he does not agree with the sentencing of Leyla Zana, an independent deputy from Diyarbakır, to 10 years in prison. Schulz added that Zana's imprisonment is on their agenda and the EU Parliament will be following this issue closely.

<sup>90</sup> Schulz's team in Brussels prepared him a comprehensive file for Ankara. The file contained examples of restrictions applied to the media (Hürriyet 29.05.2012:16).

by the government party has a direct impact on the Euroscepticism shown by opposition groups towards the EU due to its long-time support for the AKP.

During the EU accession process, Prime Minister Erdoğan and Minister for EU Affairs Egemen Bağış have continuously stated the AKP's commitment to the goal of EU membership. After the party came to the power in 2002, it implemented a pro-EU agenda of political and economic reforms. Eight EU harmonisation legislation packages were passed by the legislature. Prominent Turkish political scientists have agreed on the fact that AKP's support for the EU started as a tactic to hinder their repression by the established Kemalist elites and afterwards became a strategic tool in order to separate themselves from their earlier political Islam roots, represented by the ideology of Necmettin Erbakan and the Milli Görüş [National Outlook] (Keyman and Öniş 2004). Moreover, it attempted to change the rules and regulations to enhance religious rights and freedoms as a measure against the secularist establishment. However, there has lately been a fierce debate over whether the AKP government poses a serious threat to Turkey's traditional pro-European stance with its shift in foreign policy towards its non-EU neighbours and whether the AKP aims at the further authoritarianism in the Turkish political system and civil society (Büyükbay 2012d).

Parallel to this argument, the liberal CSO respondent K1 maintains that the integration process has been used strategically and argues that until a certain stage, it was used as an instrument for the elimination of the military tutorship. Nevertheless, after the AKP took over the centre, the party was no longer willing to share power. K1 argues that due to the hegemony of the AKP in the civil society, the EU perception of critical voices also changes negatively (K1 14-20). Hence, critical respondents think that the instruments and the purposes are being mixed, and that the West is generally being used as material for domestic politics. Most of the civil society leaders see other purposes behind the AKP's elimination of military tutorship. Left-wing CSO leaders consider the AKP's attempts to eliminate the military tutorship as being for propaganda purposes and believe that there are other dynamics at work behind the scenes (Tc1 105-107). The left-wing D1 links EU support for the AKP and internal democracy deficits in Turkey. The following excerpt is a good example of the critical respondents' argumentative strategy:

Until a certain time, there was intensive support; it might be that term "optimism" is more appropriate. It is because the AKP initiated steps for the development of human rights, democracy, freedom of opinion in Turkey on the way to EU membership and made efforts for the adaption of the European standards in terms of capitalism in Turkey, making steps forward just like the governments before it, as how the ANAP wanted to do but could not. Therefore, there was optimistic support, but when we look at the picture today, we see that more than hundred journalists are imprisoned, the KCK imprisonments, union staff imprisonments; 600 university students have been imprisoned. Is this the

government which made democratic steps, and is this the EU that will democratise the country?! (D1 690-700)

Furthermore, according to the critical respondents, the establishment of a Ministry for EU Affairs served only as a justification for AKP policies.<sup>91</sup> In any case, critical respondents claimed that the AKP government denies that there are over hundred journalists in prison and tries to convince the EU with misinformation. Parallel to this view the social democratic CSO leader S1 stresses his doubts for the Ministry of the EU affairs:

The establishment of a Ministry for EU Affairs, meaning Egemen Bağış, serves only for the delivery of statements in English to particular TV channels and journalists and to bring forward arguments that justify the AKP. This man is not the Minister for EU Affairs. He is the Minister for AKP Justification Affairs, for Erdoğan abroad. He is the Minister for Insulting the EU. He is doing nothing with respect to the EU. Did he ever make an effort to carry out negotiations? He is doing nothing. (S1:255-265)

This statement stresses that the AKP uses the Ministry for EU Affairs for its own propaganda purposes and to justify their policies, and argues that Minister Egemen Bağış does nothing except criticise the EU.

Another critical CSO leader, Tu1, stresses that the AKP is dishonest. According to his argument, whilst the AKP says that non-governmental organisations, led by trades unions, will make great contributions to EU membership, it departs unconsciously from the standards of the EU and it is not clear to what extent the political authorities, either the ministers or the Minister for EU Affairs, are honest in saying that is what they want (Tu1 935-940). Hence, the increasing hegemony of the AKP in Turkey and the long-time support of the EU for the AKP leads to Euroscepticism among critical respondents. Critical civil society leaders focus on the misuse of the Copenhagen Criteria and increasing distrust towards the EU. They suggest that the AKP acts officially as if it planned to fulfil the Copenhagen Criteria. However, in practice, it implemented the opposite, as can be seen in the following excerpt from a Kemalist CSO leader:

Today, there is a picture in Turkey standing in contradiction to human rights, which is sustained by the police-justice-government triangle. This picture has worsened compared to earlier times. Things that were done with hope for more democracy have been turned like an umbrella and nobody has faith anymore. (C1 492- 500)

Moreover, C1 (580-586) reminds that the threat of Islam for Turkey has to be regarded as a similar case to fascism for Europe, because politics in a country with an overwhelmingly

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<sup>91</sup> When the Minister for EU Affairs Egemen Bağış was pressed on the topic of arrested journalists on the BBC's renowned news programme "Hard Talk" on 1 March 2012, he stated that there no journalists have been arrested due to their professional activities, but there were some people who carried journalist identification cards who have been caught raping someone (Bagis 2012). The fact that there is no record of any journalists who have been arrested for rape casts suspicion on the honesty of the AKP's statements regarding the arrests (Büyükbay 2012d)

Muslim population can slip very easily to Islam. According to C1, secularism is very important in Turkey since Turkey spent 600 years under Islamic governance and Islamic justice (C1 591-595). She employs the metaphor of umbrella in order to stress the ineffectiveness of the democratisation process and the strong tendency to authoritarianism in Turkey. In using the combination word “police-justice-government triangle”, she refers to the AKP’s control over Turkey’s judiciary and police. Critical respondents suggest that in the current political atmosphere, the features of a democratic, just state that respects human rights has been lost. Generally, they see a trend of anti-democratisation in Turkey.

### *The Ineffectiveness of the EU*

It can be clearly seen in the interview texts that many of the civil society leaders believe that the EU is off the agenda in Turkish politics. This can be explained by factors leading to decline of trust to the EU, a lack of confidence in relations with the EU, a general perception of the EU’s ineffectiveness and of Turkish politics. The EU is not believed to have any political salience anymore, in contrast to when the accession negotiations started. Accordingly, most civil society leaders see the EU now as out of the agenda of the Turkish society and politics, as can be seen in the following statement by a liberal CSO respondent:

I think that the EU is no more in the order of the day. Of course, this all is a perception, but what happened five years ago, what we observed from the government representatives, from the EU progress reports that were published and what is happening today, what we are experiencing today, is very different. When we compare these two, we can observe a strong regression. Whilst this issue in the past was the order of the day for several days, now the publication is mentioned on one day, then one party gets angry with the other, the parties talk about what the one or the other has said and then they sweep the issue from the table. It doesn’t remain long in the order of the day. (K1:1-7)

The decreasing importance of the EU for Turkish politics and society is explained largely through the EU’s ineffective influence on Turkey’s domestic politics. Excluding the Islamic and conservative civil society leaders, the ineffectiveness topos stresses the weak reaction to the arrests of journalists and the increase in cases of violence against women. The argumentation strategy constructs the EU as not influencing these issues. Accordingly, the EU process has disappeared from society’s agenda. To illustrate, according to the liberal K1, society now has the impression that the EU is not relevant to their lives and does not matter to them anymore (K1:10-14). Moreover, the timing of the EU is considered to be mismatched with events in Turkey. The annual reports are regarded as inadequate. Therefore, the critical CSO leaders argue that the EU does not react in a timely fashion and its reaction mechanisms are regarded as ineffectual. It is criticised that the EU’s reaction mechanisms have developed based



on the standards of developed countries: the processes are reported once a year, some commissions publish a report only every five years and others every two years. Hence, the EU is constructed as too bureaucratic and ineffective. The mismatched timing of EU reactions and its ineffectiveness is expressed in the following excerpt of an influential Alevi CSO leader:

The EU reacts, but the reaction cycle and the societal change cycle in Turkey are different. Here it is already too late when the EU reacts. For example, Haberberg was there. He had published, in my opinion, very tough reports. Nevertheless, I don't know who in Turkey cared about them, or if someone in Europe cared about them. These reports will be published only when those stages start to be negotiated. I mean, I view the European progress reports as questions, which will be handled only after the initiation of the negotiations with Turkey regarding full EU membership. Turkey doesn't make any attempt to solve these questions, nor does feel Europe itself in a state to be able to ask these questions. (Af2:725-735)

The perception of the ineffectiveness of the EU is a common belief held by most of the civil society leaders. And the logical sequence follows mainly that the ineffectiveness of the EU is caused by the fact that the EU has no political salience in Turkish politics. The Alevi CSO leader Af2 criticises the long answer periods to projects they want to realise: "There is this unit for financing of local projects. When they have a local project, you don't even get a turn to make an offer; even the reaction to an offer takes 2½ years" (Af2:720-725).

One other discursive space is devoted to the EU's unsuitable parameters for developing countries, and that the EU is not knowledgeable enough about the country. The realities in the candidate countries are not interpreted correctly, as is stated with the "localisation" term. To illustrate, A1 mentions that even if countries such as Macedonia, Albania and Kosovo are physically in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, all three are still living in 19<sup>th</sup> century conditions. Consequently, if the EU wants to apply to these countries the same parameters as applied to Germany so that they will develop civil, non-governmental organisations, the true situation seems like this:

Four-five fraudsters take the money, and the same happens in Turkey too. The persons in the delegations have no idea about the realities of these countries, of which delegation they are in. That, what would be correct for Belgium, would be wrong for Bosnia. We have taken part in many EU projects and, from what I observed, in all these projects was that though the EU aims to realise the overall project, it remains extremely local in IPA countries such as Albania, Bulgaria and Turkey. This being local may be successful in relatively developed countries in terms of, for example, not to provoke the sensitivities of the Flemish and the Germans, not to cause any disputes between the Flemish and the Germans, but here or in Albania, Macedonia or Kosovo or whatever when you remain too local here, so you will get stuck in a dilemma. (A1:715-740)

A similar criticism was directed at environmental standards, which are deemed inappropriate for Turkey. A leftist CSO leader believes that the EU directives and the

subsequent regulations and standards were designed for countries that have already lost their natural diversity, experienced these problems and completed industrialisation, therefore differing extensively from Turkey. Hence, the environmental standards have regarded as inappropriate for Turkey (Tc1 100-105).

Now that I have described on statements focussing on the EU's ineffectiveness in different areas in order to strengthen different leaders' arguments, I will now turn back to the motif of the EU being utilised as a tool by the AKP by further elaborating on the causal mechanism. The logic of argumentation strategy of respondents critical of the AKP in this chapter has so far argued that the EU has supported the AKP for a long time, that this support continues to a certain extent and the democracy deficits in Turkey are more serious than ever. As a result, this constitutes a major source of Euroscepticism by a large part of CSO leaders.

In a similar vein, according to Af2 (842-843), an Alevi CSO leader, the EU is aware of internal developments in Turkey, but does not react with proper solutions. He stresses that although it seems to be impossible for Europe to know about all of these societal structures, the intelligence agencies are aware of the facts. "Actually, it is impossible to solve this with the visible side of the EU, but on the invisible side, there are secret services, MI5, this and that. I think that they have pretty much all the information regarding the internal developments of Turkey" (Af2 846-848). The Alevi leader implicitly refers to the role of the different Sunni religious groups in Turkish politics as well as the influence of the Gülen Movement on Turkish politics. He differentiates between the visible and invisible EU in referring to the secret agencies of European countries that he believes know very well about Turkey's changing societal structures.

The left-wing trade union president Es1 illustrates the strategic use of the EU process by the AKP by using the term "Dar al-Harb."<sup>92</sup> Es1 thinks that the AKP uses the integration process for its own advantages and refers to Turan Dursun (2006), according to whom *Dar al-harb* means a war that is conducted in order to enable an Islamic hegemony:

In the framework of "Dar al-Harb", everything is legitimate for increasing the hegemony of Islam, including lying, which is in this case religiously not a sin, religiously legitimated. Everything may be used, even deception. Actually, it consists of the possibility to use any instrument until the establishment of Islam, the hegemony of Islam. Now the political authority rapidly applies this, but there is an agreement with the West. (Es1:1245-1260)

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<sup>92</sup> Dar al-harb is an Islamic term used for countries which are not under Islamic rule. According to The New Encyclopedia of Islam, the dar al-harb is: "...the territories where Islam does not prevail. It further explains that jihad ("Holy War") is a Divine institution of warfare to extend Islam into the dar al-harb or to defend Islam from danger. (Glasse 2002: 240).

Moreover, the respondent Es1 focuses on the Saadet (Welfare) Party tradition from which the AKP emerged, which had an anti-American and anti-EU attitude that only changed with the 28 February Process. In line with leftist arguments, as will be elaborated later in this study, he stresses that the AKP imposed a neoliberal programme and a political style in harmony with the Western imperialist countries, and thus “the whole West has run after the AKP” (Es1:1246). In other words, the AKP applies a neoliberal program and implements it for the sake of Western countries’ important globalization criteria. Nevertheless, he adds that whilst implementing this, it is actually busy establishing its own Islamic model. He sees a synchronic application of both programmes: Accordingly, the programme implemented today in Turkey is both neoliberal and has resulted in Turkey’s rapid Islamisation. According to Es1, whilst the AKP tries to show the West how well it implements the programme applied in the West, it tries simultaneously to introduce to Turkey a fundamentalist political regime in which the Islam has been politicised (Es1:1270-1294). What is remarkable in this argumentation is that, unlike other CSO leaders, Es1 does not believe that the West has been deceived about this topic.

The Kemalist CSO president C1 (603-606) stresses that the EU should respond to the democracy deficits in Turkey. For the critical respondents, the EU must primarily show a more efficient attitudes in reaction to the various imprisonments, and stress freedom of the press and of opinion, and that the judicial system must be independent. The second point of criticism that is observable is that the rights of the KCK members<sup>93</sup> should be defended. To her, the AKP allowed the KCK to get stronger for six years, and the movement gained influence as a result. C1 argues that afterwards, the AKP claimed that KCK members were involved in crimes in order to imprison them. Hence, C1 stresses that the EU should have reacted on this development more clearly: “I mean the prisons are full of Kemalists, oppositionists, KCK members; any non-Islamist is imprisoned. What has the EU done? Nothing” (C1:580-590).

According to the Alevi civil society leader Af2, the AKP, which he characterises as “that fundamentalist Sunni group” (321), will never be willing to support the EU process. He thinks that the *Diyanet* (Presidency of Religious Affairs) and the opinions he represents will never accept the basic rules of Europe such as transparency, democracy and human rights, even if, while in Europe, they use pro-European statements for strategic purposes. Therefore, Af2 claims that whatever the fundamentalist Sunni groups in Turkey may say, they will not really support the EU accession process (Af2:831-839). This argumentation strategy again refers to

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<sup>93</sup> The Turkish authorities first launched a major campaign of arrests against the Union of Kurdistan Communities (KCK), which is considered a terrorist organisation and an urban wing of the PKK, in 2009. According to Turkish government figures since 2009, some 700 people have been arrested over alleged links to the KCK, while the Kurdish media puts the figure at over 3,500 (Ekurd 2011).

the discrepancy between the rhetorical and real practices of the AKP. Hence, critical civil society leaders see the misuse of the European Integration by the AKP and look at the EU through more critical glasses due to that its long-time support for the AKP.

To support this argumentation, they refer to several important cases, which will be elaborated in the following paragraphs. Critical respondents criticise the EU for its support of the 2010 constitutional amendments that restructured the HSYK (High Commission for the Election of Judges) that contributed to the loosening of the separation of powers in Turkey and to the AKP's consolidation of power. In the 2010 European Commission Progress Report, the adoption of the constitutional amendments on the composition of the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK) was considered to be a positive step. Nevertheless, the arrangements significantly changed the council's makeup, potentially giving the AKP a broad scope of authority. The EU also supported the changes in the structure of the HSYK and appraised it as a step in democratisation, despite the fact that opposition parties and CSOs warned against the danger that the judiciary could become dependent on the government party. This is stressed by the Alevi civil society leader Ev1 and the social democratic civil society leader C1 respectively:

The EU supported changes in the HSYK, but did not understand what was going on in the country. When looking closer at it, the democratic regulations, the restructuring of the HSYK looked [all right] on paper so, the EU had supported it from the outside. And this amendment is the reason for the subsequent imprisonments and repression. Any regulation on the paper means nothing; the important thing is to fill them, to initiate applications about this. (Ev1 45-50)

An example is the constitution, that at the time was amended in terms of justice, I think that was in 2010. They re-regulated the structure of the High Constitutional Court, the HSYK. Though we had said that this would be a regression for democracy, and would strongly limit human rights by making justice dependant on the government, all they said about it, they said that it would be a democratic attitude and supported the government. And the government has, in its wooing for people's votes, people who didn't really understand it, a technical issue was brought to be decided on by the population, the people were not aware of the issue, and they said that Europe also approves of this, said that this is democratic and conducted its propaganda in this way. And our dishonest intellectuals here supported it with the assertion that this wasn't enough and cared for that it was accepted. That's how the judiciary reached its present situation, how it worsened. The image of the judiciary we have today is the downfall of justice. Although the people decided on it, the people voted favour of it because some intellectuals who depended on justice and the EU supported it. EU behaved here dishonestly. (C1:560-580)

Parallel to this argumentation, Bf1 (423-431) stresses that the 2010 referendum regarding the amendment of the constitution that was supported by the EU, "whereby many had warned that this referendum has only an apparent meaning, that the real goal was the control of justice and it happened; justice fell totally under government control after the restructuring of the

Committee for the Election of Judges and Prosecutors.” Furthermore, according to Bf1, “it cannot be accepted that the European Union could not have seen this strategy” (434). Critical CSO leaders claim that in Turkey, the fear that the AKP would consolidate its power through the amendments came to pass. Mainly, they argue that partially as a consequence of these changes, activists and journalists have been arrested in the last years by Turkish police in alleged terror plots, but actually in a wave of media and opposition repression. For example, KCK operations have been used as a principal means to push BDP politicians out of politics, but has been unsuccessful. Moreover, civil society has been repressed with the Confederation of Trade Unions and Public Employees (KESK), the Human Rights Association (IHD), the Education and Science Workers’ Union (Eğitim-Sen) and various other non-governmental organizations accused of being linked to the KCK (Büyükbay 2012d).

According to Kemalist professional organisation leader, K1 (505-542), the EU has seriously supported the AKP for about ten years in nearly all fields. The basic point was the elimination of the military tutorship using the pretext that “Turkey will become more democratic” strongly supported the AKP government and it started with negations under the title of EU integration. Nevertheless, as other critical CSO leaders, the Alevi CSO leader Bf1 mentions that the AKP is not sincere in the EU integration process. Hence, civil society leaders who are critical towards the AKP claim that the aim of the AKP not to join the EU at all, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

The AKP is a political Islamic party. It manipulates all its attitudes in order to be able to realise a political Islamic project. I think that they themselves don’t believe what they are saying, we don’t believe what the AKP says, either. (Bf1 1313- 1320)

There are other cases where the respondents attempt to prove the AKP’s misuse of the EU integration process. According to Bf1, “the Alevi Opening”<sup>94</sup> was the hidden goal of the AKP to play the Alevis against each other and to say at end they could not find a consensus:

The Alevis have been sitting at the table like innocent lambs; the AKP has imposed what they wanted. It didn’t progress further than that what we said in 2003, no single article has been accepted. We formulated the rights of the Alevis on six articles and nobody objected to those six rights, and in this sense the government has failed because it did nothing. I think that this was their hidden goal because the presented goal was to make the Alevis happier. (Bf1:800-817)

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<sup>94</sup>The AKP government has undertaken a series of steps to respond to Alevi identity-based claims. Popularly known as the “Alevi opening” (*Alevi açılımı*), the initiative has been regarded as an important project in terms of the Turkish government’s approach to problems of Alevi citizens in Turkey. Nevertheless, it contributed to no further development on the issue.

The Alevi civil society leaders think that there have been no developments in Alevi rights during the last 10 years of the EU integration process. Generally, they claim that the AKP is deemed to be unwilling to solve the Alevi problem and no concrete steps have been taken. They believe that the resolution of the European Human Rights Court in 2004 regarding religion classes is very important, but this was never implemented in Turkey. The Alevis wanted the mandatory religion class to be cancelled, but the AKP increased the number of religion classes. In this context, according to Ev1 (322-325), the Alevi opening did not result in any developments. Hence, at the end of the working groups no results were achieved. Af2 maintains that the reason is because the problem is, in principle, a political one and solving this problem is based on equal citizenship – and that the AKP is not willing to solve this problem (Af2 1301-1310).

In this context, it is useful to present more evidence of the AKP's perceived authoritarian inclination in order to support the argument that the AKP is utilising the EU accession process to consolidate its power. According to the Alevi CSO leader, one of the examples of how the AKP creates policies so that they fit into the EU accession procedure but also contradict moves for increased civil liberties or democracy is the Alevi initiative launched in 2007. This initiative has failed due to the AKP's goal of creating an official form of Alevism that can be ruled by its Sunni-led Directorate of Religious Affairs. At that time, European leaders supported government's Alevi opening. Nevertheless, Vicdan Baykara, an Alevi labour union leader, stressed his reservations:

The government wants to extinguish the Alevi movement. If the Directorate of Religious Affairs recognises one form of Alevism, all other concepts of Alevism will be suppressed and destroyed. In one sense, assimilation will occur. So the AKP will make it seem like Alevism is recognised while using methods to diminish it further. (Baykara 2010 cit. in Büyükbay 2012d)

To conclude, the majority of the civil society leaders do not view the AKP's stated desire to have Turkey become a member of the EU as honest. According to this argumentation strategy, the values of the EU and the political targets of the AKP are not in concert. Critical respondents claim that secularism is a must for a democracy and a constitutional state, and they think these do not coincide with the AKP's political goals, coming to the conclusion that today's AKP government does not deem EU membership to be a basic goal:

On the contrary, it will act as if it wants to be a member, as if it would work towards this and meanwhile will it use the environment for changing from moderate Islam with the values of the Republic for its own goals. (Iba1:870-880)

The critical respondents' argumentation strategy concentrates on anti-democratic developments in the country. For the Kemalist CSO leader, Iba1 (303-318), one of the basic problems in Turkey is the attempt to tame society through tough criminal courts whose proceedings often have political purposes. As a result of purposeful mass trials such as the KCK trial, the Ergenekon trial and the Balyoz trial,<sup>95</sup> all of Turkey's institutions have been suppressed. Another Kemalist CSO leader, Ad1 (221-224), suggests that a fear society<sup>96</sup> has been instituted through these court proceedings and mass imprisonments.

Critical respondents tend to address Turkey's ranking as the country with the most imprisoned journalists. Given these facts, the argumentation strategy of non-reactive and inefficient EU follows. In a similar vein, the Alevi CSO leader Bf1 argues that the EU did not react well and reacted insufficiently to recent events such as the KCK imprisonments and the imprisonment of students:

In their statements, which are of course in the last progress reports are titles regarding Ergenekon, imprisonments of students, imprisonments of journalists, but, to tell the truth, there are no sanctions that would be appropriate for these events. The sanctions would be that the AKP would be placed under international pressure at this point, but it hasn't happened. Also, in the case of the Alevis, a typical sample, the European Union has given very little space to it in its last report. Actually, there is nothing that could have changed, improved. In fact, a worsening is the case. (Bf1:1330-1338)

Another trade union leader, Tu1, argues that the reaction of the EU has been weak regarding the imprisonments of journalists:

The cases were written about in the European press, and the AKP says; "Gentlemen, these are not journalists, those are terrorists..." For God's sake, can someone with a pen in his hand be a terrorist? If someone with a camera is defined as a terrorist in this country, when people get imprisoned for having thrown stones, for having thrown eggs, of course the European Parliament must show its reaction to it, but it remains weak. You sentence someone to eight years, ten years imprisonment for only having displayed a placard. Is that what we've been calling this whole time freedom of opinion, freedom, and democracy? I mean that which is said, and that which is done, do not match each other, and the reality looks bitter. (Tu1:966-976)

In a parallel argumentation strategy, Iba1(800-817) stresses that the EU did not warn the AKP about its non-implementation of the EU's core values in Turkey. As a result, these basic values – the implementation of human rights, the constitutional state and the independence of the judiciary – have for a long time ceased to be important. He links this with the EU's political interests:

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<sup>95</sup> Ergenekon and Balyoz Trials have changed the social-structure in Turkey.

<sup>96</sup> Fear society is a term widely used in order to indicate that the AKP tries to threaten all oppositional groups by different measures, such as imprisonment.

The meaning of this disinterest can happen only due to its political interests. If Europe should close its eyes to these unlawful events in Turkey, to events in contradiction to the values that have been developed over thousands of years by Europe, this will indicate that the political interests of the European Union are obviously more dominant. (Iba1:890-913)

In a similar vein, Bf1 argues that the EU gives the AKP more value than it deserves. What is more striking to Bf1 is that the AKP can act in such an unrestricted manner based on the support and the roles of both the EU and, particularly, the USA. He addresses the differences between the policies implemented by the AKP in Turkey, and that what it means outside Turkey. He uses the metaphor of a “mountain range” to refer to this discrepancy (Bf1:1290-1301). Another leftist CSO leader argues that the support of the EU prepared the anti-democratic process in Turkey:

As we know, the AKP calls the period after the election on 12 June as its mastery period. People, who claimed any rights have been, at the least, subjected to violence, imprisoned, put into jail without any trial for months, years, and it does all of this under the title of “democratisation”. At this point, we think that the support from the EU contributed much to that, and that the EU is as guilty as the AKP in this process. (Sk2:1460-1470)

Contrary to the argument that “the sources of democratisation in Turkey are no longer only national, but also global, and therefore that the EU plays an important role in the changing nature of state-civil society relations in Turkey and functions as a powerful actor generating system-transforming impacts on Turkish politics” (Keyman and İcduygu 2003:225), the civil society leaders see no democratisation and no EU leverage on Turkey. The professional CSO leader, Iba1, adds to the discussion by arguing that the interests of America and the EU coincide. According to this argumentation, the EU does not deem the domestic conflicts in Turkey to be important because the AKP’s foreign serves their interests:

I think that the EU will not engage in relations at this level, since the important issue for it is the position of Turkey in the interests of the EU, the interests of America in Turkey. Here, there are definitely no problems. Why? It is because Turkey has completely surrendered in terms of the Near-East politics or has a position that fully serves the interests of the EU or America. Why should it therefore get involved in such issues? Thus, when you look from the outside, everything that is undertaken regarding foreign policy serves their interests. I think that the EU will not deem Turkey’s domestic conflicts to be important. When would this be important for it? When Turkey would cross the interests of the EU. (Iba1:913-922)

The Kemalist CSO leader, Ad1 mentions that in the past, delegations from the EU came and visited the prisons. However, this interest ceased in the AKP era:

Now, during the AKP government, so many students, so many journalists, so many generals, so many statesmen have been imprisoned, and the EU hasn’t said a single word.



It is as if I hear America saying: “Don’t try to hinder us until we have reached our goals. Leave us doing what we want; later you can support Turkey.” (Ad1:1370-1380)

Hence, Ad1 mentions that for the EU the important issue is the position of Turkey according to European and American interests in the country. According to the professional CSP leader T2, the EU sees that Turkey has a more authoritarian political structure:

It is impossible that it doesn’t see, you must be blind to not see that Turkey is governed by a single person. I cannot accept that anyone in any Western country who is interested in this cannot see it. Therefore, will the EU see and know today that Turkey is governed by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as the sole sovereign and that all others are secondary actors? Why doesn’t it show a strong attitude about democratisation, the amendment of the code on political parties, the percentage barrier for elections, the hindrances of organisations and the similar? As I said before, because there is a parallel political line in the government of Turkey which complies with the interests of the EU. (T2:803-814)

A major source of Euroscepticism stems from the belief that there is no democratisation in Turkey during EU accession process, which diminishes the image of the EU. Critical respondents argue that behind the AKP’s claims of democratisation with respect to the civil fields, people who have fought for their rights and interests have been punished for doing so, contradicting all of the democratic values advocated by the EU. For example, according to Sk2 (506-521), a civil organisation may in the AKP’s perception continue to exist as long as it is under its control.<sup>97</sup> Sk2 stresses that the AKP uses courts with special authorisations, the old state safety courts and applies a policy of hard pressure against civil organisations. People are imprisoned without trial. He argues that although they have mentioned this to a variety of European Union institutions, they have not gotten any reactions:

A variety of institutions of the EU, which has appointed itself the apostle of democracy, oversee these omnipresent problems just because of the support they gave the AKP so that the AKP consequently implements the neoliberal policies. And we deem this as a totally dishonest policy. (Sk2:1470-1485)

Another leftist trade union leader, Es1, mentions that the European Union has a false image that Turkey is becoming more democratic:

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<sup>97</sup> An influential group of social scientists argues that the governing party practices subtle discrimination amongst civil society organisations to strengthen its cultural and moral leadership. Groups and organisations that share ideological and political similarities with AKP are actively supported by the government, as observed in the case of the conservative Turkish charity Deniz Feneri (meaning “lighthouse” in Turkish), whose representatives are AKP members organised from among the Turkish population in Germany. Critics accuse AKP of protecting its accomplices in the Deniz Feneri e.V. Affair, the biggest charity corruption case in Germany’s history, and using embezzled funds to support the AKP’s political aims in Turkey. The main opposition party, CHP, argues that the funds were utilised to support media outlets close to the government (Büyükbay 2012d).

I travelled to Germany in October. During our conversations with the local unions there, as we were telling them [about these issues], they said, “Well, Turkey is getting more democratic,” and “the things you are telling don’t happen in Turkey.” This image is very important. The foreign countries have three, four images of what we experience daily, and the West must make an evaluation with these three, four images. The AKP actually channels these images very cleverly and it has managed to deliver to the West an image in which Turkey is democratising, developing, where the military tutorship has been eliminated and so on. It may be that the reactions you mentioned remained less so due to that, but this is not the case. (Es1:1216-1226)

The Kemalist civil society leaders link their attitude towards the EU with its alleged support of Kemalism. This argumentation strategy leads to a major source of Euroscepticism, especially among Kemalist CSO leaders, as they deem EU’s attitude towards Kemalism incorrect and prejudiced. The EU leaders make statements claiming that Kemalism is a threat and generally see it as an issue that is interwoven with militarism. For example, K1 argues that there is no positive approach to Kemalism (K1:26-30). Similarly, the Kemalist CSO leader C1 argues that the EU has unfairly assessed Kemalism and deemed it a dictate that is wrong. Additionally, C1 states that the EU that it should remember that modern Turkey was formed out of a religious country and a religious society, a society with a literacy rate of 3% when it first became a nation. If Kemalist reforms had not been implemented, Turkey would not be any different from the Arabic countries that did not experience these reforms. She stresses that the contemporary society that is able to unite with Europe is the result of education, the politics of the Republic of Turkey and the Kemalist worldview (C1:550-560).

A social democratic civil society leader argues that even the leftist and social democratic parties initially supported the AKP because they observed the process of democratisation in Turkey under AKP rule.<sup>98</sup> While the CHP was mainly ruled by sovereignists and isolationists at that time, EU’s support for the AKP was more expressive. According to S1, in the case of Article 301,<sup>99</sup> the CHP was strongly in favour of the article. S1 states that now the AKP government has not removed the article, but, at that time, the CHP seemed to be the keeper of

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<sup>98</sup> Sahin Alpay, a liberal writer, stresses that Erbakan’s Welfare Party, where the AKP has its roots, had “a mixed Islamic, nationalist and Third Worldist ideology to oppose integration with the EU and call for Turkey to unite the Islamic world. The ‘conservative democratic’ AKP, on the other hand, embraced EU accession, along with a market democracy on European norms. In parallel, religious leaders and movements, such as the Naqshibandi brotherhood and the Nurcu community, called for a liberal and globalised economy and polity” (Alpay 2011:33).

<sup>99</sup> Before amendments were added to Article 301 on 30 April 2008, the first part of the article stated: “A person who publicly denigrates Turkishness, the Republic or the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, shall be punished by imprisonment of between six months to three years” (Turkish Penal Code 2004). The EU wanted it to be abolished because of its restrictions on freedom of expression, which caused nationalist feelings in some segments of society.

neo-nationalism. S1 explains that the reason behind criticism and scepticism from the leftist wings of the EU towards the CHP was due to its strong support for the Article 301. Nevertheless, S1 argues that after Kılıçdaroğlu came to power, the CHP's neo-nationalism has softened, which in turned altered the attitude of the EU towards the CHP (S1:271-281).<sup>100</sup>

At the same time, some critical civil society leaders maintain that the EU has started to understand the real face of the AKP. Es1 argues that the EU could not have recognised it at the beginning of its activities, and the AKP did not want reveal it because it needed the EU:

The EU couldn't recognise this at the beginning of its activities, and the AKP didn't want reveal it since it needed the EU. The AKP government has definitely deceived them. It has presented itself to the EU as hero of democracy, as a power that will pave the road to democracy, at that moment it had to do so. The EU was deceived, and, later, the more the AKP's programmes were implemented, the more the real face of the AKP came to the surface. (Es1:903-908)

Another CSO leader, Ev1, argues that even now the EU has not recognised the real face of the AKP completely, but it is slowly beginning to do so. The EU realise that it was deceived as soon as possible and apply pressure on the AKP by the strengthening the "counter-democracy against the AKP," strengthening non-governmental organisations so that democracy becomes a social, secular and liberal structure (Ev1:990). Furthermore, Ev1 maintains that the West has become aware of the reality of the situation, and stresses that those who view at Turkey from the outside support the AKP because they do not know Turkey very well. But by the time the other face of the AKP is revealed, particularly with regard to freedoms, the West will better understand that they have a wrong attitude and start opposing it. Hence, Western intellectuals has started to see the antidemocratic measures taken in Turkey over the last years. As a result, this group has started to re-evaluate the AKP as a political party that does not honestly wish to join the EU (Ev1:880-890).

These arguments are mainly based on a European Parliament that questioned and criticised the legitimacy of the Ergenekon investigation<sup>101</sup> for the first time. The European

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<sup>100</sup> In a similar vein, Altınay (2011:37) stresses that "While Erdoğan is becoming increasingly authoritarian and losing interest in the EU, the opposition in Turkey is finally finding its European bearings. Turkey had been suffering from the absence of a capable opposition for several years. The former CHP was xenophobic and reactionary. The new CHP under Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu is reengaging with the EU, producing creative social policy options, and most importantly shedding the loathsome practice of whitewashing the military's illegitimate interventions."

<sup>101</sup> Since it was first launched in June 2007, following the discovery of a crate of grenades in Istanbul, what has become known as the Ergenekon case has become the largest and most controversial judicial investigation in recent Turkish history. The case has divided Turkish society into two different camps. To some – particularly supporters of the AKP and Kurdish nationalists – the Ergenekon investigation aimed for the "cleansing of the century," an opportunity for the country to finally eradicate what Turks refer to as the "deep state." To its detractors – who are mostly opponents of the AKP – the Ergenekon investigation is politically motivated, and the alleged organisation itself a deliberate invention by government sympathisers in an attempt to try to discredit and weaken secularist opposition to the AKP and clear the way for the AKP's hegemony (Jenkins 2009:10-11).

Parliament also called upon the European Commission to follow the judiciary processes and report its findings in its 2012 Progress report.<sup>102</sup> For social democrats, seeing that the EU has changed the attitude towards the AKP and has started to criticise its anti-democratic policies has decisively led to a positive attitude towards the EU. This is expressed in the following by an influential social democratic CSO leader:

It was the case up to now because they supported the AKP. They supported it too much, but I think that this support has decreased. To put it better, the EU has begun to realise the truth and the lesser the support becomes, the EU is seen less negatively by social democrats. (S1:265-271)

Regarding the reasons for EU support of the the AKP, Di1 stresses that the absence of a real social democratic party in Turkey led to the EU believing that the AKP was honest and would democratise the country. The support of the AKP by the EU is explained in the following:

I'm talking about a couple of years ago, people from the socialist group in the European Parliament or social democratic parties would come to us and complain that they couldn't meet any social democratic parties in Turkey with whom they could talk about human rights in order to cooperate with them. The EU institutions supported the AKP, talking about human rights in an environment in which even the social democrats were not talking about human rights. But I don't think that the AKP is honest in terms of democracy, human rights, and now its dishonesty is clearly seen. (Di1:700-707)

According to another critical CSO leader, Af2, the reason behind the EU's support for the AKP is based on the image of the AKP that conceals its fundamentalism with socialist slogans, making the EU believe that it would push Turkey to become a social-democratic country. The EU supported the AKP's efforts to weaken the military's influence on politics. However, the AKP tries to eliminate the military tutorship and to replace "it with the tutorship of imams" (Af2:790). Af2 expresses this view in the following:

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<sup>102</sup>Consequently, we can conclude that the two reports by Hammarberg, one concerning the media, the other concerning jurisdiction had, have and will continue to have immense influence on the configuration of the Western view of Turkey. The so-called "Hammarberg effect" was quite influential in changing Western attitudes on Turkey. The United States State Department repeats most of the critiques published over the last years regarding democracy, human rights, media freedom and judicial independence in its latest report. The American diplomats who wrote the report did not even change some phrases in the documents from past years. This feature of the report shows that there has not been much change in Turkey and the same problems continue. The difference in this year's report is that the part reserved for jurisdiction now covers a larger space compared to the report from the previous year. The United States' foreign affairs have been seriously influenced by the previous commissar of human rights of the European Council, Thomas Hammarberg, and his ideas on "the management of jurisdiction" had a great impact on the United States. Some of the critiques found in the American report begin with the phrase "According to Hammerberg's report..."

Europe is not aware of this. It thinks that the military tutorship has been replaced with democracy, but this guy will send the army and place Khomeini in its stead. I think that they partially cannot and partially don't want to see this hypocrisy. Sometimes you tend to say "Let them do what they want, I have enough trouble on my own," and Europe does the same. (Af2:764-769)

The extract above implicitly refers to the Euro-crisis and the related neglect of the EU vis-à-vis developments in Turkish politics. Furthermore, The Alevi civil society leader gives the example of the Salafists<sup>103</sup> in France:

The Salafists came from Saudi Arabia and they accepted them very tolerantly, and after eight or ten years see what those guys were doing. Now Europe rips its hair out, they have settled them there and now they cannot get rid of them. They thought that they were missionaries or something, but now they converted into society's main problem. (Af2:790-800)

According to an influential Kemalist civil society leader, the EU could not react to the anti-democratic events in Hungary, and the same thing is also happening in the case of Turkey. Hence, the EU cannot function as a mechanism for democratisation anymore:

The EU did not take any action during the anti-democratic events in Hungary. Now, it speaks about this or that measure. With the events in Hungary, we saw that the EU was not that influential in strengthening democracy. Maybe you know Hungary: one-and-a-half years ago, the government of Hungary was made up of right-wing parties that, after the elections, changed the laws, set up a new constitution and made everything dependent on the party and the government, cancelled freedoms. It's exactly the same as in Turkey, it is fascism established in a legal way, by the implementation of laws and here, with us, the laws have also been implemented. (C1:500-508)

The leftist civil society leader Es1 explains the support for the AKP parallels the rise of conservatism in the West. According to Es1, there is a serious trend of conservatism in the West, even Darwin's theories are up for discussion. For him, conservatism in terms of the applying of a neoliberal programme is going on both in Turkey and also in the West itself.

Furthermore, the church has become increasingly visible. Es1 presents a view of the West has come to a point in time where religion has become a part of daily life. It may be that, as a result, the West does not see it to be particularly negative when another religion does similarly in Turkey (Es1:1245- 1270). At this point, it should be noted that a majority of civil society leaders observe the rise in conservatism, nationalism and Orientalism in Europe as a dominating trend and the failure of the multicultural model. This argument again builds a common discursive space among the civil society leaders. This can be clearly observed in the

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<sup>103</sup> Salafists are Muslims from the Maghreb.

following passage: “To illustrate, with Sarkozy and Merkel, a model whereby multiculturalism has failed and the primary culture of the country starts dominating other cultures” (Bf1:1310-1313). According to this respondent’s discourse, the EU has rejected multiculturalism and is afraid of immigration and different cultures, thanks to which conservatism has definitely increased. Secondly, the EU utilises both implicit and explicit Orientalism to treat countries such as Turkey like Third World countries and present itself as the centre. Moreover, the on-going economic crisis has led to the maintaining of the status quo and rising conservatism (Af2:1340-1355).

Returning to criticism of the EU due to its long-time support for the AKP, the Kemalist CSO leader C1 strongly criticises the EU in the following excerpt:

The EU was interested in Tayyip Erdoğan because it saw that a democracy was being born out of Islam, with, it thought, by an Islamic leader. It thought that this man from the Milli Görüş [National Vision] Movement, from the Refah [Welfare] Party, a man, who sat down to the feet of Hikmet Yar in Afghanistan, had converted into a democrat. Such an impression was transmitted. Better to say, they were hoodwinked. And the West admired him at that time in a definite sense, but I think that they understood that this wasn’t the case. The EU has to handle things pursuant to its advantages; and, whilst they, as would all other countries do, handle things pursuant to their advantages, they supported the government without believing it from time to time (C1:1211-1219).

Here, the social democratic civil society leader C1 defines the starting point for the EU’s<sup>104</sup> support of the AKP. After winning the elections, the party leader when visited Europe and held talks with European leaders so that they could tell him about Turkey’s democracy deficits. In turn, he would take this information, hold debates in parliament and enact the appropriate laws. Despite his Islamist roots, the prime minister, promised that his party would implement democracy and human rights. C1 argues that Europe thought Erdoğan would keep his promises, many laws were amended and an image of compliance with the Copenhagen Criteria was created. However, the AKP then implemented laws that scaled back this progress.

Furthermore, C1 stresses that the West and the EU now know that there is no freedom of the press, but the government claims otherwise, saying that there is freedom of the press and presenting the imprisoned journalists as terrorists. Thus, the AKP tries to convince the EU that this accusation has nothing to do with freedom of opinion, but has been made due to the accuser’s membership in a terror organisation. According to C1, the AKP (not the judiciary) cannot prove the journalists’ guilt and hence many people have been placed in pre-trial

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<sup>104</sup> There are many statements of EU officials supporting the AKP: For example, in an interview with the daily conservative *Yeni Şafak* in 2009, Joost Lagendijk, the joint chairman of the Turkey-EU Parliamentarians’ delegation expressed the following: “The EU was expecting demands for change from the left, the CHP. However, change and democracy came from the AKP...The AKP is now the vehicle for change and reform. This is a surprising attitude from the European perspective” (*Yeni Şafak*, 20 April 2009 cit. in Celep 2011:432).

detention (C1:510-530). What is striking in these arguments is that critical respondents strongly believe that the judiciary is not independent from the executive and legislative branches and is under the control of the government party and its allies. A nationalist CSO leader, Ka1, states that the EU had reservations about whether an Islamic government would turn its back on Europe and how the relations with the EU would develop. In response, the AKP brushed aside these reservations, promised European standards of democracy and embraced the EU. The party did this as if it would listen to the EU's requests, but then realised the large influence of the United States over the EU:

But now the AKP sees that the EU is also controlled by the USA. Therefore, it asks itself why it should talk with the EU, thinks that it can negotiate with the big brother, and now we have a government that is fully controlled by the USA. (Ka1:1390-1410)

Another important perception related to these criticisms is that the AKP has strengthened its hegemony in civil society throughout the EU accession process. The leftist respondent Di1 claims that the AKP used EU money to develop Islamic political capital and supportive CSOs. Di1 finds the reaction of the EU to be insufficient:

The monies taken from the EU were wasted. The AKP tried to adapt Turkish capitalism to the European standards, trying this by developing and strengthening the new bourgeoisie, which support them, against the traditional bourgeoisie through so-called green capital – Islamic capital. They also have used it to develop unions that are allied with them, such as the capital grounds around Müsiad, Hakis, Memursen. (Di1:710-717)

The majority of the interviewees agreed on the superficiality of the AKP's democratisation discourse. They claim that repression and discrimination dominates government-civil society relations. For example, in order to be considered legitimate, civil society organisations' ideological or political standings have to align with the AKP's political preferences. The respondents mainly mention Memur-Sen [Confederation of Public Servants Trades Union], which is closely affiliated with the AKP. Ten years ago, the Union was the smallest of the three public sector confederations, but between 2002-2012 its membership increased from 41,000 to 515,000.

A final example of discrimination is Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç's assertion that collective bargaining rights only belong to Memur-Sen. The leaders of the trades unions confederations (DISK, TURK-IS) and confederations of public servants (KESK, KAMU-SEN) criticise the government party for creating their own trades and public employee unions in order to marginalise existing ones. Hence, the CSO leaders' discourses do not agree with the argumentations of the liberal social scientists:

... Civil society organisations have gained a “political actor-like quality” with normative and discursive power, influencing us to rethink the state-society/individual relations beyond the strong-state tradition and by employing the globalisation of the language of civil rights. (Keyman and İçduygu 2003:227)

Nevertheless, Keyman and İçduygu (2003) note that a large number of CSOs<sup>105</sup> in Turkey are not issue-specific organisations, but have ideological visions for society and have “ideologically- and normatively-loaded discourses and strategies” (228-229). Hence, it is incorrect to view this term in a positive light, as it not only contains democratic discourse, but also subjective religious and cultural expressions. In the past months, hundreds of opposition politicians, activists and journalists have been arrested by the police in connection with alleged terror plots, which is actually claimed to be an effective method to repress the media. In line with this view, Af2 argues that the AKP intends to control civil society as a whole and has never proposed a solution during the Alevi initiative. “They tried to make us unimportant and take possession of us” (Af2:1034). A2 mentions that Turkey has been the most moderate of the Islamic countries, and Europe has seen the status the radical Islam has achieved. Due to this, the EU supports Turkey in reality only because it can play the role of mediator in attempts to moderate Islam or restructure European Islam (Bf1:1320-1330). Another Alevi CSO leader, Ev1, believes the following:

Actually the AKP is structuring all institutions according to its body of thought. All universities are silent, the justice is in their hand, the secular wing of the military is imprisoned, the other non-governmental organisations are pacified day by day. It supports its own unions. In short, all of the present government’s democratic efforts are only for strengthening of its own position, for the establishment of a theocratic mentality, the restructuring of the society. The democracy and so on are pure deception. (Ev1:1000-1010)

In the excerpt above, it is argued that civil society is not democratic, non-hierarchical and participatory as it should be, but regulated by a top-down mechanism. Through a historical analysis, the leftist Di1 offers a historical explanation for the change in European attitudes towards the conservative/modernist camps in Turkey and stresses the dishonesty of the AKP:

The reason for this contradiction is, according to me, that in Turkey the military has dominated for nearly a thousand years, and Turkey has wanted to be a part of Europe for [only] more than two centuries. This means that the Europeanisation process was initiated by the political elite, led by the military, and throughout the last two centuries there has also existed a conservative group against the on-going Europeanisation and Westernisation. And now we see that a Turkish government belonging to the conservative camp that seems to support Westernisation. There is conflict between the thousand-year movement and two-

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<sup>105</sup> It is important to mention that transnational scholars argue that weak domestic politic actors who do not possess a say in domestic politics are more likely to take conflicts to the international level (Risse-Kappen 2002:267).



hundred-year movement. Today, we see groups that are against the EU that seemed to be modernists, pro-European, pro-military in the past. The reason is that the government uses the process as a tool in order to weaken the influence of the military on politics, and I do not think that they are honest in the issues of Westernisation, EU membership. (DISK:680-690)

To sum up, though historically used as an instrument to maintain power, some respondents think EU accession process has found new avenues of political pursuits under Erdoğan's leadership.<sup>106</sup> It is a fact that Turkey's ruling leaders exercise power to ensure their cultural and moral leadership, through misusing if not outright abusing the European integration process and the Copenhagen Criteria. Yet, for the respondents, the conservative and pro-Islam AKP is set to be the most striking example of such a political and governing entity. The analysis suggests that the AKP has approached the EU accession process in an extremely instrumental and pragmatic fashion compared to its counterparts in Turkish political history (Büyükbay 2012b).

If we look at the statements from conservative and Islamic groups in civil society, we can observe that the strategic use of the EU process is largely justified. The attitude of Islamists and conservatives towards the EU integration process has focussed on using it as an instrument for domestic political change. According to the statements of Islamist respondents, their attitude towards this issue was distant and cold until the 28 February Process. After this, the Islamists started to change their attitudes towards and perceptions of the EU. According to them, European Union is a religious-based organisation due to its Christian roots and Europe's Christian culture, and thus has crusading dimensions. Accordingly, the EU project would contain obligatory changing, converting or exploiting elements against non-Europeans. They admit that this was the starting point and were aware of the cultural differences from the very beginning. Nevertheless, there was something else that was crucial for them: "If we analyse afterwards in what kind of political system we are living in, then we can easily realise that the existing system is based on an authoritarian, totalitarian, military tutorship" (Ö1:280-290).

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<sup>106</sup> The Istanbul Modern, one of the most popular private museums in Turkey, was inaugurated by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in December 2004. The date of the hasty inauguration suspiciously coincided with European Union's final decision meeting that would officially launch Turkey's full accession process into the EU. The media covered the inauguration heavily, applauding Erdoğan's interest in and support for the arts, specifically the contemporary arts, a first for a Turkish government. The ruling party enjoyed a political "coup de grâce": the Istanbul Modern turned out to be the perfect propaganda material for the benefit of the West and the EU. However, it was most effective among Turkey's secularists and the modernists. It alleviated their fears regarding Erdoğan's real agenda as a devout Muslim. Six years later, in January 2011, Erdoğan did not hesitate to call a gigantic statue, still under construction in Turkey's eastern province, Kars, "monstrous." Erdoğan publicly announced that the statue created by a Turkish sculptor Mehmet Aksoy and named Statue of Humanity, "would not stay up much longer." Despite the fact that Aksoy fought a legal battle against immediate execution of Erdoğan's exposition, in April 2011, the monument was completely demolished by AKP-governed Kars municipality. As a leader championing Turkey's EU accession, especially during his early years in power, such a paradox can be given yet as another example of Erdoğan's exploitation of Westernism to maintain power (Buyukbay 2012b).

During the 28 February Process, it was seen that this system cannot be changed only through domestic tactics. According to Ö1, it was very clear that this system could not be made retrogressive with domestic powers, domestic dynamics and societal dynamics. In other words, the pressure of the system over them could not be decreased only via internal dynamics. Hence, the Islamist and conservative groups increasingly started to view the EU in a different way, particularly after the Customs Union Treaty, the developments in the integration process and after 28 February. The opinion that this process could make some positive contributions to the population of Turkey and Muslims on a societal level has strengthened (Ö1:290-297). Ö1 clearly expresses this in the following extract:

... This would ultimately not mean a complete unification with Europe or accepting all its values and its whole cultural structure. This would mean that the structure of Turkey, the system of the Republic of Turkey, the Kemalist System, would need to be changed due to the fact that these were very fascistic. (Ö1:297-300)

Generally the Islamic CSO leaders see a major difference between these two attitudes. The respondent states that a majority of liberals and democrats support the EU process unconditionally and fight for a complete unification, and defend this also in an ideological sense, but the Islamic groups want these regulations in order to be able to create a more lively Turkey. In this sense, they look on the process positively and discuss its contributions:

In that sense, this is a strategic step, not an ideological, cultural intercourse, as I said, it serves to improve conditions. We have supported the government's process, its work in this context. You also have to accept that at the point of changing the military tutorship, the Kemalist system in Turkey, it decreased the social dynamics and the AKP government provided important services, efforts for, but also that the EU criterions and legislations, reports and their "pressure" played an at least such important role. (Ö1:300-310)

Ö1 stresses the importance of the *Ummah*<sup>107</sup> for the Muslim people. Ultimately, he mentions that as Muslims, they have to see society, policy, sociology, as well as social, cultural and economic life from an Islamic perspective. For Ö1, the liveable perspective of Islam in the world is the attitude of *Ummah*. He advocates an *Ummah*-oriented, an *Ummah*-based, political, social, cultural project and, in this sense, he does not deem a complete unification with the EU to be totally correct. Even if the differences in the EU between Christian Democrats, Greens, Social Democrats and Liberals constitute a non-homogenous structure, he believes that there

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<sup>107</sup> "To the Muslim way of thinking, the only *umma* [community] that counts is the *Ummah Islamiyyah* [the Islamic Community], an entity that theoretically comprises all Muslims throughout the world, whatever their national origin. In Islamic thought, 'the *Ummah*' represents a universal world order, ruled by an Islamic government (the caliphate) in accordance with the 'Law of God' (Sharia, Islamic religious law), and patterned after the community founded by Muhammad in Medina in 622 AD. It even includes Jews and Christians living within its territory as separate (and inferior) communities" (CBN 2009).

are some points that the EU would impose on Turkey, requiring Turks to give up their own identity and cultural structure, primarily by requesting that they completely submit to liberal values. The Islamist respondent Ö1 believes that as long as this is the dominant idea in the EU, he will not consider full membership positively (ÖZGÜR-DER:310- 321).<sup>108</sup>

In the view of the Islamists, utilising the EU as a tool for domestic change is justified. According to Islamic CSO leaders and conservatives, the creation of a more human, more liveable environment in which a stable political, social, cultural and economic structure is established and in which repression, totalitarianism and authoritarianism has been eradicated is more important than the real targets of the EU, which are implementation of EU criteria and standards in Turkey. According to Islamic respondents, the fact that the EU has contributed to positive changes cannot be overlooked. According to them, the EU contributed to the decrease and weakening of three factors: the Kemalist system, the oligarchic structure and the military tutorship (Ö1:402-405). Islamic respondents emphasise that the real goal is not EU membership, but to establish liveable standards in Turkey. It would not be particularly important whether Turkey is in the EU or not when these standards are implemented (Ö1:405-409).

To summarise, the EU is being used in order to break Turkey's national state structure, which is deemed too strong and totalitarian. The Islamic civil society respondents believe that the EU would do this. For them, it is important that Turkey soften its impermeable, unmoveable totalitarian structure. In so doing, the extreme influence of the military in politics and institutional inertia would be eliminated. They believe that this would have an extremely positive impact on Turkey. Another Islamic respondent, A1 mentions that Turkish society is ready to open itself more to the West than the East, and that Turkish society sustains an extraordinarily large number of relations with the West (A1:630-637). She sees the EU as a tool for the democratisation of Turkey, but not enough in itself. "We have seen it as a tool for the purpose of democratisation, but I also don't believe that a country will democratise only due to external dynamics." (A1:637-640)

Hence, we observe the incorporation of the EU into the discourse of Islamist and conservative CSOs. According to Dağı (2005:32.33) and Hale (2003:108), this discursive shift

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<sup>108</sup> Despite the fact that the excerpt is selected from the interview of a leader of a human rights CSOs, we see that there is a disagreement on the underlying human rights concepts such as the freedom of religion and LGBT rights between Islamic CSOs and other human rights CSOs in Turkey. In an article on Kemalist and Islamist CSOs, Duncker (2007:1) argues that left-wing and secular CSOs in particular would benefit from the European integration process and transnational relations with European institutions and CSOs that share similar conceptions of human rights.

by Islamists and conservatives has led to anxiety among the Kemalists, who fear that EU integration might strengthen their political influence. The Kemalists' Euroscepticism mainly draws on EU's inability to comprehend the special danger of Islamism in Turkey. In contrast, Islamic and conservative CSOs blame the EU for having sided against Islam and for permanently ignoring the violations of their religious rights. They believe that freedom of religion is not guaranteed by the European Court Human Rights mainly based on the ruling on the headscarf issue (see Duncker 2007:82).

Looking back on the development of the discourses, it should be noted that after a period of struggle, one can see that the utilitarian-pragmatist discourse dominates among the different opinions in the Islamic groups.<sup>109</sup> Generally, it can be claimed that in the Islamists' minds, the European Union is considered to be a safe port against increasing pressure since the 28 February Process (Ensarioglu 2002:21). The former Mazlum-Der president Ensarioglu (2002:23) argues that they know Europe is not based on a collective European image, that there is no such thing as a single and homogeneous Europe and hence relativise Islamist visions of Christian Europe. However, another Islamic CSO leader, Özdemir (2002:30), argues that the EU project is nothing but the reconstitution of the global lifestyle presented as Western Civilization and a way of imposing its sovereignty on other nations. In this aspect, the difference between the EU and the USA lies only in their methods. The USA imposed its sovereignty many times using violence while EU is trying to realise this ideal with a more flexible and soft method. Hence, to be subject to one-sided EU authority would mean giving up the Islam Civilisation Project as believers' final goal. Özdemir's following excerpt reflects this major trend in the Islamic discourse:

As a consequence, Islam is a religion with allegiance. Muslims are responsible to realise the same allegiance. So, an absolute unity with the EU is not possible. To look for a solution in a union with the EU or USA with daily conjunctural approaches, [and] caring about our momentary interests wouldn't be becoming to responsible Muslims. There is no doubt that Muslims will build a much better system than the lifestyle trying to be imposed to the world by the EU and USA. (Özdemir 2002:31)

Another important Islamic figure, Bekaroglu mentions a question frequently directed question at the Saader Partisi (Welfare Party): "You used to describe the EU as a Christian club and strongly objected to it. But now you support this club and contribute, why is that?" (2002:18) Bekaroglu answers this in the following excerpt: "We consider the Turkey-EU process as a profitable relation for Turkish society and other Muslim societies. Today, over 5 million

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<sup>109</sup> Özgür-Der published the book *European Accession Process and Muslims* [Avrupa Birliği Süreci ve Müslümanlar] (2002), which gives important information regarding the attitude of Muslims towards the EU. This book never reached other groups or the public, and has remained a secret. Nevertheless, an Islamic CSO leader trusted me and gave me a copy for detailed analysis.

Muslims live in Europe. And those 5 million Muslims are not restricted while living and practicing their religion like in Turkey” (2002:19). Another Islamic leader, Mustafa Kamalak, spoke on behalf of the SP party by emphasising the violations of freedom of religion and the freedom of thought in Turkey as reasons why SP supports admission to the EU (Kamalak cit. in Karagöz 2002:33). Another influential civil society leader, Ali Bulac, states his views in the following:

One has to have an imagination for the world, and my personal imagination is an Islamic Union. All Muslims should have such an ideal. In this aspect I am neither for nor against the European Union. I consider the EU in a functional and pragmatist aspect. I hope that this process will be profitable for us to lower the pressure, and develop legal and political standards. (Bulac 2002:44)

Hence, the main question in this debate is “Can we give up on our strategic goals for tactics and need for conjectural freedom?” (Pamak 2002:66) These statements show the tactical nature of the EU support by the Islamic CSO leaders.

Instead of suffering from the 28 February phase, which has been claimed will last a thousand years, the EU’s promise of a free atmosphere appears more advantageous. Pamak states it in the following excerpt:

Turkey admitted to the EU or Turkey completely alienated from the EU, both don’t seem to be in favour of the Muslims in general. The racking politic of the European Union with invented excuses is considered as advantageous until the evolution efforts of the society, specifically Muslims, reach a higher level and strength due to possible disadvantages foreseen with our admission in the EU. As the admission process continues, [and] the Turkish Republic applies some of the criteria requested by the EU, consequently civil liberties develop. (Pamak 2002:84)

However, a majority of Muslims criticise some Muslim intellectuals<sup>110</sup> who lean towards Western concepts such as democracy, freedom, equality, human rights etc. (Atalar 2002:89). The fact that the EU has suspended indispensable rights for security reasons or takes certain stands towards Muslims is frequently discussed. For Ülek (2002:91), it is obvious that 11 September has led to several changes restricting the rights of Muslims in the politics of the European Union.

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<sup>110</sup> According to Ülek (2002:91): “The European Union process is not a complicated process unfamiliar to Turkish Muslims. This process reflects the last phase of a Westernisation movement initiated at the final epoch of the Ottoman Empire from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to today. The Westernisation movement that started with the political reforms made in the Ottoman State in 1839 has evolved with the establishment of the Turkish Republic and related reforms, NATO and admission to the European Council and customs union, finally the membership application to the European Union.”

The most important factor that has influenced the attitude of the Muslim society towards the European integration process is the 28 February Process. In fact, the part of Muslim society that has characterised the EU as a Western Club or a Christian Club for the last 30 years are today in favour of Turkey's admission to the EU. The despair and concern over the freedom of religion in the 28 February Process has greatly influenced Muslims' orientation towards the EU. An important analysis of Ülek deals with the comparison of socialists, Kurds and Islamic groups in the EU accession process:

In the European Union adaptation process, three of the major traditional oppositional movements, Kurds and Socialists have been protected, accepted and supported in the EU platform. The practices of fighting against the system have raised the orientation of the Muslims, situated behind these two groups, to benefit from a similar opportunity. But the Muslims couldn't benefit from a similar protection since they haven't internalised and adopted global values as the other groups. (Ülek 2002:93)

Moreover, Ülek (2002:94) is sceptical about the EU's attitude towards Islam: "The Americanist Islam project developed during Cold War period is now standing before us as the Euro Islam. A reformed Islam in a secular approach will be imposed on society and only such a religion would survive... Our current references are still the references of yesterday; Muslims should study the world and politics with Islamic/Kor'an criteria, not with Copenhagen Criteria."

The beginning of the discussions on the EU accession process in 2002 shows a high degree of cultural, value-based Euroscepticism, even Eurorejectionism. The following excerpt is a good example of historical Euroscepticism:

The first serious encounter of Europe with Muslims was thanks to the Andalusian Muslim State. Muslims were spread in a large geography encompassing what is now Spain [and] Portugal up to the Pyrenees, until France became the latest margin of the Western World. Things that happened to the 700-year-old Muslim civilization in Andalusia show the degree of this hostility. The Reconquista Project lasting 400 years has been determined with the extinguishing of the Muslim Existence in Europe. (Islamoglu 2002:97)

Hence, Islamoglu (2002) argues that the EU is not their project, "our project is the Islam Union" (100). The following excerpt is a good example of the pragmatic orientation that has become dominant among Muslims:

Considering the current system in Turkey, Muslims won't lose anything with the admittance of Turkey to the EU. In the contrary, they won't have to face the Kemalist and secular impositions in the subjects of freedom of thought and religion. Since 1960, thousands of Muslims have gone to Europe, how many of them became Christians? Therefore, Christians should worry in terms of religion in the context of admission to EU, not Muslims. (Balci 2002:114)

The debates around the question of what Muslims' approach toward the EU should be revolved around culturist, religious and pragmatist issues. Because Islamism is an idea that runs parallel and in reaction to the policies of Westernisation as well as to imbue the state with Islamic features, Islamists have been against Westernisation from the beginning.

Today, there are two main sources for the ideas concerning the admittance to the EU amongst Muslims. The first is based on developments after the 28 February Process, and the punishment of Islamist politicians, the head-scarf issue, the closure of two political Islamic parties and the according belief that this pressure may end with admittance to the EU. Secondly, the EU is viewed as a political alternative to the USA (Balci 2002:117). While USA has a more aggressive attitude towards Islamic countries, the countries of the European Union, with the exception of the UK, show a more reconciliatory and constructive attitude. This fact has also had a serious influence on Muslim's approach to the matter of the EU. However, discussions of the EU as an alternative to the USA are less visible in the discourse.

Balci (2002) sees two events that are critical for understanding relations between the Christian-Western World and Islam. The first are the Crusades launched against the Muslim world by Christian Europe in the Middle Ages. The second is the Reconquista and the politics of the Reconquista, the erasure of the traces of Spain's Muslim heritage, which some Western historians view as a continuation of the Crusades (Balci 2002:16). Aware of the fact that the EU does not correspond to the principles of the Islamist worldview, a pragmatic approach has developed and become evolved into the Islamic discourse, as can be seen in the interviews with CSO leaders from these groups. On the other hand, some Muslim CSO leaders accept that the West, despite the hostilities with Muslims that have been on-going since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, has outstanding humanistic values. For example, Europe has rejected torture, arbitrary government and the death penalty, and supports freedom of demonstration and thought as well as the rights of minorities (Kavuncu 2002:148). Nevertheless, Kavuncu states: "Neither European Union nor American imperialism. Glory be the glorious resistance of the World Muslims!" (Kavuncu 2002:148). Moreover, the influential Islamic journalist Karahasanoglu (2002:149) stresses that it is unthinkable that in Europe, where homosexuality has been determined as a sexual choice, wearing a head-scarf is not accepted as a religious choice. The above excerpt indicates the value-based Euroscepticism expressed by the Islamic leaders. This argumentation constructs an antagonism of Europe and Turkey with different static norms and value systems, and regard the EU as not taking cultural and religious characteristics of Turkey into account.

A more differentiated statement comes from Ridvan Kaya, whose views are now more dominant among Islamic CSO leaders:

It is important to consider the EU not as a monolithic bloc but as a structure that features differences, varieties and paradoxes in itself. The Europe of crusades, inquisition, colonialism, racism and fascism also features the heritage of battles for human rights, freedom and equity matured in the recent years. All in all, there is a real system conforming the norms of a juridical state that noticeably protects and develops the natural, political and social rights of human beings. (Kaya 2002:157)

Furthermore, Kaya (2002:158) mentions that instead of an instinctive and emotional attitude, rational grounds should be brought to the fore in the debates around the EU accession process. Hence, according to Islamic CSO leaders in platforms where oppressive totalitarian governments reign, it is not easy for constitutions and movements with oppositional identity to push the status quo with their own power. However, the fact is that to support the EU is an identity that has its own ideological political line, to be Muslim is another identity. Hence, to support the EU is a serious danger facing the *ummah* identity (Kaya 2002:160). The following excerpt summarises the case in hand:

Why are we for the continuation of the EU process? Our opinion despite its potential unfavourableness, the favourableness of the EU process are beyond. We are considering the potential opportunities and platforms to be provided by the EU as a helpful opportunity to present our Islamic campaign in a stronger and efficient way. We don't want to experience rupture by the status quo forces while inviting people to the religion of Allah, we want what is innate. (Kaya 2002:160)

### ***Conclusion***

The chapter shows how the EU is mainly conceptualised among socialist left, nationalist right, liberals, social democrats, Kemalists and Alevis. The chapter explores the differences and commonalities in these groups' constructions of Europe and the EU. Despite the variations, the chapter argues that Euroscepticism largely draws on the main tenets of the perceived *misuse of the EU integration process* by the AKP. It sets out the multiple discursive strategies through which this is realised, such as the construction of EU's support for the AKP and the topos of misuse of European integration. Moreover, the chapter demonstrates that while major differences exist between different ideological groups regarding the EU and Europe, there is a strong interdiscursivity in this issue with the exception of such Islamic and conservative groups.

The approach to Euroscepticism in this chapter assumes that representations of the EU are basically influenced by the power relations. In that sense, Euroscepticism derives its strength by groups opposed to the AKP as well as from the power, interests and positioning of the AKP. As Ahiska (2003:366) refers to Occidentalism "as a field of social imagination through which those in power consume and reproduce the projection of the West to negotiate



and consolidate their hegemony in line with their pragmatic interests,” Euroscepticism relies on the government party AKP and its use of the EU. Ahiska mentions the importance of power strategies in the following citation:

The case of the present significations that restrict the EU debate in Turkey to timeless markers of East and West indicates that the Occidental fantasy is still at the heart of the hegemonic imaginary. I do not intend to underestimate the material interests in power struggles. But significations and representations also have a complex role in shaping power strategies. (Ahiska 2003:368)

Hence, the image of Europe has been a permanent reference point in political discourses in Turkey. Ruling cadres exercise power and ensure their cultural and moral leadership through utilizing the European integration process and more specifically the Copenhagen Criteria. The most striking example is the usage of the European integration process by the AKP as a tool for the further authoritarianisation of Turkey and as a way to manoeuvre for space in domestic politics. The centre-right Islamic AKP, which defines itself as a party of conservative democrats, justifies its practices and arrangements with reference to the EU accession process and further strengthens its ideological hegemony. In other words, in the current political climate, the AKP instrumentalises EU accession process as a form of social control (Büyükbay 2012d). The dishonesty or the double moral standards of the EU are seen in its long-time lack of reaction by its official organs to internal democracy deficits in Turkey, even if some reactions have come from EU intellectual groups and CSOs. A large part of the interviewees agree about the superficiality of the AKP’s democratisation discourse. They claim that repression and discrimination dominates government-civil society relations. The AKP has consolidated its power in Turkey in part by using the EU accession process, and the accession discourse is still necessary for the AKP. Nevertheless, the respondents believe that politics is a dynamic process. It can be argued that with the current deadlock, the AKP cannot credibly refer to the EU process to justify its violations of fundamental rights. Yet, it seems like this is not the case. Despite its current power in Turkish politics, the AKP would still want to hide behind the EU accession process or use it to justify its grip on power when necessary. To conclude, it can be argued that the abuse of civil society has become more common during the EU accession process than before. AKP has been utilising the EU process as a convenient instrument to maintain its dominance and incrementally pursue its political agenda, turning the process into a tool for authoritarian power and gaining manoeuvring room in domestic politics (Büyükbay 2012d). As a result, the concept of “civil society” has been under an increasing wave of abuse since the initiation of the EU accession process.

Hegel does not view civil society not in positive terms, as it is in liberal democratic theory. Rather, civil society is a repressive phenomenon and needs powerful state regulation. (Keane 1993:50-52). Accordingly, the respondents react to the perceived taking of sides by the European Union officialdom in Turkey's on-going clash between "Islamists" and "Secularists". The secularist/nationalist respondents see the EU as guilty as the AKP for anti-secular developments in Turkey. Altinay (2011:1) says: "The normal apparatus of the EU itself – that is the EU laws and the EU institutions – has little to do with managing secularism in individual states, whether members or candidates." That is, Turkey is responsible for the role of religion in the public space of the country. As Altinay mentions (2011:123), it is very difficult to pay the price for convergence by opening the (liberal) gates to conservative influences in the country, without acquiring the protective effects of EU membership down the road:

The effect of this trenchant case is that there is now the risk of a divorce in Turkey between the once-western elite and the European project. This is regrettable - for those Turks who care deeply about secularism are critical stakeholders in Turkey, and something remains missing as long as they are not included in the European Union convergence process. (Altinay 2011:132)

The arguments about Turkish civil society have mainly revolved around the hard official ideology "which envisions a homogenous nation-state that rejects different identities and subcultures" (Şimşek 2004:69). Şimşek (2004:70) further argues that if the problems of the lack of autonomy from state power or deep political fragmentation and hostility would be solved, civil society could function as a mechanism for democratisation. Many scholars have evaluated the rise of Islamic, environmentalist, feminist, Kurdish, Alevi and Kemalist CSOs as a sign of the enrichment and democratisation of civil society. This would be correct if the CSOs could be independent of the government party. Şimşek (2004) argues the division along cultural and ideological lines in the following:

Civil society in Turkey is just as fragmented as, and even more so than, the political parties. Business unions and chambers, which are expected to act based on economic rationality rather than political or ideological preferences, best illustrate the fragmentation in Turkish civil society. (61)

These struggles affect the attitudes towards the EU and might result in Eurosceptics' argumentative strategies. Dialectical relations between Turkish civil society and political society should be taken into consideration in order to understand the true dynamics of Euroscepticism in Turkey. Instead of seeing civil society as a separate sphere and merely evaluating, as Gramsci argues, viewing it as a complex web of relations between the state and civil society (see Dikici-Bilgin 2009:107) will contribute to further understanding of

Euroscepticism. Hence, the influence of the AKP or, previously, other political parties over civil society may function as the main force of Euroscepticism influencing the attitudes towards the EU in positive or negative terms. Extensive intervention into civil society, as Gramsci has theorised (Gramsci 1971:159-160), is a real tendency in Turkey that is continuing even more strongly. Anderson (1996) states the contingency of state/civil society relations in the following excerpt:

The agencies in civil society might develop in opposition to the state in one context, while in other contexts the state might refer to the totality of civil society and political society, or the state might even be identified with civil society itself. (Anderson 1997:28 cited in Dikici Bilgin 2009: 6)

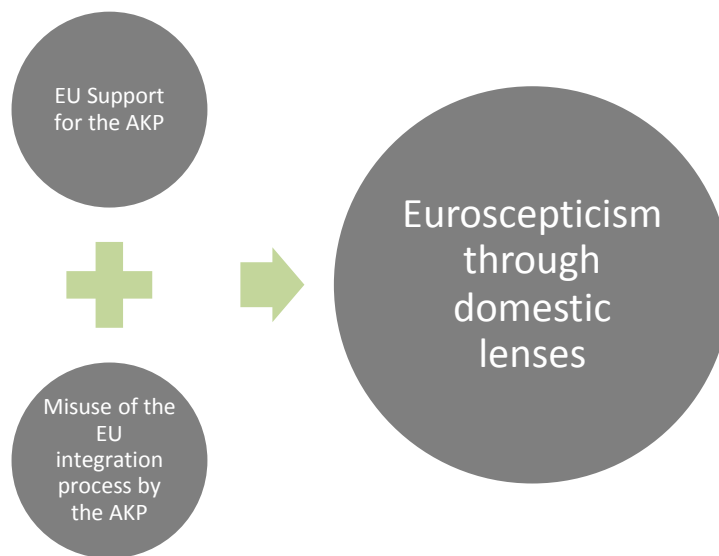
Hegemony, as understood as “a ruling practice which aims at forming a collective will and a particular understanding of the world which would result in acquiring the consent of the ruled” (Bobbio 1979:40), operates in Turkish civil society (Mouffe 1970:10). This coercive and consent-based influence, in Gramsci’s terms, becomes a strong source of Euroscepticism in the opposition discourse. The AKP’s increasing tendency to co-opt the intellectual, political and cultural leadership and the disregard of the EU also leads a strong Euroscepticism.<sup>111</sup> Hence, the tendency of the ideological formation of the Republic is now transformed to the hegemonic formation of the AKP, which needs the basis of content in civil society (Dikici-Bilgin 2009). Accordingly, as with the Republican ideology before them, the AKP needs the consent of civil society to internalise, establish and consolidate the Islamic values. The opposition discourse supports this argument and sees the EU ineffective against the AKP’s consolidation of power consolidation. Hence, according to this chapter, it may be logical to categorise the CSOs according to their positions relative to the AKP: those articulated as pro-AKP, those against it and those that are formally autonomous from the AKP but under its constant influence. Kemalist, Islamic, socialist, liberal, Alevi, social democratic, conservative CSO leaders all have differentiated positions towards the AKP and the EU, whereby strong interdiscursivity can be found. Hence, the belief that AKP presents itself as the representative of Turkish civil society, where Özgür-Der and Mazlum-Der are institutional dimensions (Dikici-Bilgin 2009:20), can be conformed throughout this chapter. To sum up, understanding Gramsci’s conceptualisation of civil society will illuminate Euroscepticism in Turkey, as he views civil society the site of

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<sup>111</sup> Fazil Say, the world-renowned pianist, was given a 10-month suspended jail term for “insulting religious values” on Twitter. The European Union has criticised Turkey for the ruling. Dozens of politicians, journalists, lawyers, and lawmakers - most of them accused of plotting against the government or having links with the the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) – are in detention in Turkey (Telegraph 15 April 2013).

struggles between competing worldviews and social discourses. Figure 6 shows the argumentative strategy explained in this chapter in simple terms:

**Figure 6: Euroscepticism Through the Lenses of Domestic Politics:**



#### **4.2.3 Eurocynicism: Scepticism and Overconfidence**

In the last years, distrust of the EU in Turkey has been transformed into contempt for Europe, which can be called “Eurocynicism”.<sup>112</sup> To understand this concept, an investigation of the use of the term “cynicism” in political research is necessary: De Vreese (2008) specifically investigated the role of the news media in affecting public cynicism about European integration. He bases its conceptualisation on Cappella and Jamieson (1997:166), who defined political cynicism as “mistrust generalised from particular leaders or political groups to the political process as a whole – a process perceived to corrupt the persons who participate in it and that draws corrupt persons as participants.” However, political cynicism has different aspects and can be directed towards various institutions, issues and regimes (Erber and Lau 1990). In the Turkish case, cynicism towards the EU is characterised as an absence of trust or as negativism and disapproval (De Vreese 2008). Moreover, this section demonstrates that it

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<sup>112</sup> I borrowed the term from political scientist Cengiz Aktar, who used it in a newspaper article (Aktar 2011).

includes one more element, which is equally important: overconfidence. This will be analysed throughout the chapter.

The present economic crisis in Europe and the relative economic progress in Turkey and its ambitions to be a regional power have led to distrust and an extreme self-confidence in Turkey, especially among conservative and Islamic groups. Hence, Europe's present situation has generated an exaggerated sense of Turkey's own importance and abilities. Eurocynicism,<sup>113</sup> cynicism towards the EU is frequently utilised as an argumentation strategy by the conservative and Islamic civil society leaders in this analysis. The analysis finds that Eurocynicism has particularly intensified among those CSO leaders that support the AKP and its policies. Its intensity diminishes significantly among other groups where attention shifts in all the discursive spheres to the indication and use of Eurocynicism by the AKP.

The European rhetoric of politicians and public are increasingly laden with Eurocynicism, which political scientist Cengiz Aktar (2011) describes as an advanced version of Euroscepticism. Aktar emphasises that the reason for this new national enthusiasm can be found in Turkish over-confidence on the one side and the eurozone crisis on the other. To illustrate, the traces of this overconfidence can be found in November 2011 as Abdullah Gül stated during a official state visit to London that "Cyprus will be a half-country leading a miserable union, when its on the presidency of the EU in 2012" (Athennews 2011). Accordingly, the government party engaged in an overconfidence backing on Turkey's Ottoman past, economic growth and its ambitions to be a regional power.<sup>114</sup> The discourse "Turkey doesn't need Europe" gained in strength after the European economic crisis and especially after Greece, a member of the EU, went bankrupt. In public discourse, there emerged a kind of "schadenfreude"<sup>115</sup> over the problems faced by EU, given the fact that the EU has not accepted Turkey as a member. In 2011, the foreign media held Turkey up as a democratic model for the near eastern countries without a close observation of the democracy deficits Turkey is

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<sup>113</sup> In the context of Eurocynicism the term "cynicism" refers to coexistence of scepticism and sarcasm in the following thesis. To clarify more, Slavoj Žižek in his article "Why fear the Arab revolutionary spirit" in *The Guardian* on 01.02.2011 discussed "the Western liberal reaction to the uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia frequently shows hypocrisy and cynicism...The cynical wisdom of Western liberal, according to which, in Arab countries, genuine democratic sense is limited to narrow liberal elites while the vast majority can only be mobilised through religious fundamentalism or nationalism, has been wrong." As can be observed by this comment, cynicism in this context refers to a decoupling of irony, sarcasm and doubt with a more pragmatic than argumentative way.

<sup>114</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Turkey was called "the sick man of Europe." Following this metaphor, the Minister of Economy Zafer Çağlayan (Çağlayan 2012) said: "Those who called us 'sick' in the past are now 'sick' themselves. May God grant them recovery."

<sup>115</sup> Schadenfreude is generally defined as "pleasure at another's misfortune" (see Goslinga et al. 2006). In psychological research, schadenfreude is generally connected to envy that results "when a person lacks another's superior quality, achievement, or possession and either desires it or wishes that the other lacked it (Parrot and Smith 1993, cit. in Goslinga 2006).

facing. European politicians have used the World War I-era description of Ottoman Empire as “the sick man of Europe” for Turkey for a long time, which has contributed to criticism by Turkish elites. Many conservative and liberal political scientists argued that after the AKP came to power, “a healthier, stronger and dynamic Turkey” has arisen with a strong economy and with a proactive foreign policy via “zero problems” with neighbours (Diplomatic Courier 2011:122). “This self-confidence stimulated new dimensions and actions in Turkey instigated by Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, the architect of this foreign policy whose philosophy has been leading” (Diplomatic Courier 2011:123).

The European and American media discourse in 2011 strongly stressed Turkey’s self-confidence with headlines such as “Turkey’s new-found self-confidence” (Diplomatic Courier 2011). Nevertheless, in 2012, the media discourse became more sceptical. Patrick Cockburn (2012), an influential journalist, warned that Turkey could become a victim of overconfidence and asked the following:

Are the Turks seeing the Ottoman Empire reborn or are they going to be the next victims of economic chaos in Europe and political turmoil in the Middle East? Is Turkey about to pay a price for the overconfidence suffered decline or disaster? Turkish optimism has ominous parallels with the self-regarding opinions once heard in Ireland and Greece. As with Turkey, both these countries had histories of poverty and emigration which made them psychologically receptive to the self-deceiving idea that they had at last attained the prosperity so long and so unfairly denied them. Excessive belief in their own booms produced disastrous economic bubbles. (Cockburn 2012: 13)

In 2012, many articles in the Turkish and international media have stressed that Turkey’s overconfidence may result in disappointment. Refuting these claims, an advisor of the AKP government, İbrahim Kalın, said that “the strength of the Turkish economy and foreign policy is not the result of an imaginary, self-gratifying confidence. It is based on real economic numbers and concrete foreign policy initiatives” (Today’s Zaman 2012). Turkish President Abdullah Gül stated in a business forum in Sofia:

Turkey is the 6<sup>th</sup> largest economy in Europe. We are a G20 country. Last year we had 8.9% economic growth. In the first quarter of 2011 we have registered 11% growth. Our banks and bank system are very healthy. Turkey is a huge market. Regarding spending – we have a budget of 1 trillion dollars.’ In 2011 Turkish economy is growing rapidly and the official data indicated that it even surpassed China’s growth rates. (EUinside 2011)<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> But it is widely accepted among the economists that the Turkish miracle was a result of the inflow of foreign capital which is very vulnerable. They warned that the overconfidence may lead to serious mistakes in economy and foreign policy.

After examining the general overconfidence of the Turkish political discourse that has come to the fore in the last few years, I will now analyse the factors that have decreased trust towards the EU and combine with the element of overconfidence to create the Eurocynic discourse.

### *Statements of European Leaders*

As cynicism is inversely related to trust in different social, economic and political institutions (Mishler and Rose 2001), Eurocynicism refers in the Turkish case to an increasing absence of confidence at the level of EU institutions. This cynicism visible at the civil society level may help to understand the dynamics of Euroscepticism. During the accession process, several statements of European leaders increased civil society leaders' Euroscepticism. The declarations were regarded as "insulting" and "unacceptable" (A1:595-600). Some civil society leaders claimed that the EU looks down on Turkey and that this is reflected in the rhetoric of the European leaders:

I don't deem mentalities like, "If this shouldn't be so, then...", "You have to submit...", "You must always submit...", "All are equal, but we a little bit more..." definitively wrong. In this sense, there is something definite in the method, the attitude of the EU, that disturbs the Turkish people. I say the Turkish people in full awareness, this is what I observed, may be that I'm wrong; the EU has such a down-looking perspective, which condemns others without seeing the own contradictions, weaknesses, deficits, and even showing any effort to see these. (Ö1:357-363)

This exclusive rhetoric of the EU is seen by the overwhelming majority of civil society leaders as a major problem (T2:130-135)<sup>117</sup> Interview data provides further insight into the different ways in which the "double standard topos" can be invoked, which increases distrust and leads to Eurocynicism by conservative and Islamic CSO leaders. CSO Leader Tu1 combines the issue with the statements about the EU leaders:

The EU puts barriers such as the freedom of movement in front of Turkey. Regarding this issue the EU shows no good will. That Germany and France leaders offered a privileged partnership for Turkey and Turkey should not join the EU but the Mediterranean Economic Zone declines the trust to the sincerity of the EU. (Tu1:950-960)

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<sup>117</sup> This argumentation strategy conforms to the findings in the Occidentalism chapter, namely that the West regards itself superior against the East.

### ***The Headscarf issue and Party Closures: Major source of Islamic and Conservative Euroscepticism in Turkey***

Another important point in the discourse is the topos of double standard that is linked to the headscarf issue by Islamic and conservative leaders. This argument is often connected to non-confidence in the EU, which argumentatively gives ways other alternatives other than the EU as in the following excerpt:

The EU has a double moral standard. For example, the European Human Rights Court condemns the Leyla Zana trial and prompts Turkey to indemnification, but the same court closes its eyes regarding the application of Leyla Şahin in the headscarf issue. Two persons with the same name request their rights on the same issue in front of the same court and the result is a double standard, the double moral standard of the EU. And that is what makes the Turkish people set question marks behind the term EU. Therefore, there is a serious lack of confidence into EU in the public. And this lack of confidence in the public reflects obligatorily on the resolutions of the decision makers. We, as Memur-Sen, and me personally, think that EU is not a must, this should be underlined, and the EU is for Turkey only one among many alternatives. We are a strong country. (Me1:1021-133)

According to conservative and Islamic leaders, it is a major double standard that the European Court of Human Rights has continuously made negative resolutions on to the applications of Muslims in Turkey regarding the restrictions they are confronted within the system (M1:421-425). According to them, the EU's major double moral standard lies in its attitude on the headscarf issue. The European Human Rights Court condemned Turkey in the Leyla Zana trial, prompting an indemnification, but the same court ignored Leyla Sahin's application, prompting the distrust seen above.<sup>118</sup> According to Islamic civil society leaders, it is very difficult to explain to Europeans that they view the headscarf as a women's right. Instead, they believe that Muslim figures and Islamic symbols creates an enemy image among them and the headscarf is an Islamic practice. Conservative and Islamic CSO leaders state that they find it difficult to explain this issue to them. Accordingly, they had to accept that the headscarf prohibition in Turkey caused a serious decrease in the education of women. The following excerpt from an Islamic CSO leaders is another important example:

...Particularly the resolutions of the European Human Rights Court. There was a much discussed resolution, I mean, when it is about the resolutions of the European Human Rights Court after the expansion, was the resolution regarding Leyla Şahin, unfortunately the one, which constituted the most important precedence case and has saddened us. (A1:600-610)

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<sup>118</sup> Leyla Sahin was banned from university in Turkey for wearing a headscarf. The rejection of her application by the European Court of Human Rights has a strong impact on Islamists and conservatives, and has become a symbol of EU's biased attitude towards Islam. The Islamic headscarf is forbidden in high schools and in public service in many European countries. Islamics in Turkey see wearing headscarf a topic of freedom of religion, whereas many Kemalists evaluate it as a political symbol.



As also seen in the excerpt above, the order of the argumentation first cites the double standard implemented by the EU towards Turkey and then stresses the increasing distrust towards the EU and concludes with the power of Turkey.

### *The Cyprus Case*

The double standard discourse draws its strength in all discursive sites from the Cyprus case. Hence, there is a strong interdiscursivity between different groups with regards to Cyprus issue. The attitude of the European Union regarding the Cyprus has been evaluated as a double (moral) standard, because the EU accepted Cyprus as a member, before the unification process of both nations was completed and before the process proposed by the UN based on the Kofi Annan Plan was completed. The civil society leader who is the representative of Gülen movement mentions it in the following:

Contrary to the UN criterion and through a unilateral preference the EU preferred a community, which stands them emotionally and mentally close. I don't know whether they believe in this or not, but this is the transmitted picture. (G1:1058-1073)

In a similar vein, a social democratic civil society leader states that a double standard has been applied in the case of Cyprus by stressing the fact that normally countries with conflicts with their neighbours are not accepted as members, but Cyprus has been accepted as a member of the EU despite this. He describes this as a positive double moral standard for Cyprus. He finds that what is applied to Turkey is not double moral standard, it is beyond this: it is simply "a Turkey-specific moral" (S1:233-242). The double standard topos in the Cyprus case that is constructed similarly among all the ideological discursive sites stresses that if the EU would had not accepted Cyprus as a member, the problem would have been solved faster. This problem has been regarded as a tool used to pressure Turkey to solve the Cyprus problem (C1:483-492). Another Kemalist civil society leader notes that one of Sweden's top politicians has mentioned that they thought the Cyprus problem would be solved faster, which was not the case:

Since there is a Republic of Cyprus in the EU now, the way to the solution of the Cyprus problem will not be via the EU, but via the UN. A wrong policy is implemented here and this policy was to the disadvantage of both Cyprus and Turkey (C1:483- 492).

The Islamist civil society leader M1 uses the stepchild metaphor regarding the EU's attitude towards Turkey in the Cyprus case:

It is a clear proof for that the EU treats Turkey like a stepchild. On the other side is the Turkish population of Northern Cyprus to be seen; the EU means to provide you all securities when the Turks vote “Yes” at the referendum, and this referendum is made. The EU says the Turks that all possibilities will be provided pursuant to the result, but those, who vote “No” at the referendum are being awarded by the EU and the others are being penalized. The same double moral standard is presented by the EU in terms of the customs union. The double moral standard is not applied only against Northern Cyprus. If there would be a fair relation, this wouldn’t be the case. The attitude of the EU naturally results in mistrust. (M1:440-448)

The predication above of the EU as unfair is common in all of the interviews with civil society leaders across the spectrum of ideological, ethnical and religious backgrounds.

Hence, the Cyprus issue is a contextual factor in the accession negotiations whereby the double standard topos dominates the discourse. The leftist civil society leader I1 adds to the discussion that the free will of the population of the Cyprus should be taken into consideration and respected. It is not acceptable that the EU aims to use it as a market and a base, and that Turkey views it as a province (I1:33-37). To sum up, this double standard rhetoric is realised through various discursive means and topics one of which is the construction of the EU’s unfair handling of the Cyprus case. Hence, a discursive equivalence is formulated between double standards and unfairness. In other cases, even they show some differences, the European unfairness is espoused through discursive strategies.

### ***The Armenian Case***

The Armenian case is a common discursive topic, in which the EU is condemned as unfair by everyone except the leftist elites. According to the majority of the CSO leaders, The EU has taken a unilateral attitude in the Armenian issue as well, and is always against Turkey favouring another party counter to Turkey (Me1:1120). In the Armenian issue, the EU could not overcome the Armenian lobby and the issue remained unresolved. According to the Islamic civil society leader Ö1, it is questionable whether the EU really wants to solve the problems or wants to sustain the “crisis status” in order to be able to continue Turkey’s dependence relationship with it (Ö1:390). Moreover, the Armenian issue is related to the freedom of speech for some social democrat civil society leaders:

Turkey wanted to open the door with faith, but then what for Europe. I mean, we are talking about freedom, from the freedom to speak, freedom of opinion, freedom of expression, a must of Europe, and then wants the great government of France penalize me due to having said that this cannot be called as a genocide, it wants to imprison me, wants to fine me. For God’s sake, what thereof is freedom of opinion, when there is even not an “F” to be seen? (Tu1:962-966)

The following discussion adds to the discourse new aspects in stressing the double standard of the West in the Armenian issue:

The EU has a unilateral attitude in the issue about Armenia, too, which is always against Turkey, to the favour of the counter party of Turkey, who ever this may be. The EU and America, which are against the nuclear researches, nuclear power plants of Iran, say nothing, nobody says anything about the nuclear power plant in Armenia, which is only 6 kilometres or 10 kilometres behind our borders. The confidence of the children of this nation, this state and its statesmen will never be provided as long as the West sustains this double standard attitude, this double moral attitude. I see that the EU has, both politically and economically and sociologically, always kept the background calculation in the foreground and that therefore the relations between Turkey and the EU, this association, in cultural sense, seriously decelerated, but that this order of the international political system makes this relation to an unavoidable necessity for the EU. (Me1:1202-1215)

### ***Unfair European Foreign Policy Attitudes***

The Bosnian case is common discourse used by the civil society leaders leading to distrust in the EU and regarded as a paradox of the EU. The EU's support for intervention in Iraq or the Bosnian case has led to a crisis of confidence in the EU. The conservative trade union leader Me1 mentions that the EU has been always been regarded as a country of standards and a source of democracy. Nevertheless, according to Me1, if one observes carefully, the EU has strong internal paradoxes. The values that are expressed in different speeches were not implemented in reality, and the Bosnian case is an important example of this:

When we look at this in two dimensions, when we look at, Bosnia, the EU remained always in the audience during the genocide by the Serbs against Bosnians. The EU sees the issues, may it be on regional level or even global level, always pragmatic, and this imperialist perspective never finds acceptance. I think that one of the greatest problems of the EU is the distrust in it. This is not only so in terms of Turkey, it is also the case in Africa, also the case in Asia. I think that Europe has a serious confidence crisis, both politically and sociologically. (Me1:1146-1157)

The left-wing trade union leader Es1 states that democracy is used rather as a tool than a target by the imperialist powers. If they would care about democracy, they would have reacted to the situation in Bosnia. Allegedly, the EU intervened in Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq for democracy, but in Bosnia, in the heart of Europe, the same reaction did not happen when a human tragedy was experienced (Es1:1226-1230). Hence, in these examples, we can see factors that increase distrust towards the EU and contribute to the perception of an "unfair EU":

It is said that the EU is the country of standards where democracy functions properly, but when you look at it closer it to be seen that the EU was never able to relief itself from its own hindrances, its domestic paradoxes. From a universal perspective these values are brought to word, declared in a political level. But when it is about actions, then the EU

apologizes and presses on the brake. When we look at this in two dimensions, for example to Bosnia, the EU has remained always as audience during the genocide by the Serbs against Bosnians. The EU sees the issues, may it be on regional level or even global level, always pragmatic, and this imperialist perspective never finds acceptance. I think that one of the greatest problems of the EU is the distrust in it. This is not only so in terms of Turkey, it is also the case in Africa, also the case in Asia. I think that Europe has a serious confidence crisis, both politically and sociologically. (Es1 1240-1251)

As is generally observable in the Eurocynic argumentation strategy, the excerpt above constructs Europe as unconfident because of the discrepancy between European leaders' speeches and their actions. This excerpt is typical in the sense that it stresses the different areas such as the Bosnian case, colonial history, support for the PKK terror, that are very often seen in the discourses of conservative and Islamic leaders. We can see that the topos of conflicting Europe is dominant in this discourse. The terms "Europe" and "EU" are used interchangeably, creating a monolithic Europe with no scope of diversity.

### ***Insufficient Measures Against the PKK***

Another factor contributing to a growing lack of confidence in the EU is that some EU countries do not take necessary measures against the PKK. This distrust is expressed in the following:

You can observe the two faces of Europe against terror. No matter from which perspective we look, the EU is not a companion that creates confidence in a long-term path. The companion tries to continue without any confidence in it and it doesn't seem to be possible to develop a friendship without having to overcome the confidence crisis. Looking at the PKK, the land mines they have, in Italy, in EU countries, they produced those land mines, and we even hear from several sources that these were given to the PKK as support without any charge. (Me1:1157-1165)

We can see two faces of the European Union in the terror issue, in every aspect the European Union is not a trustworthy company, and this is why the company goes on in a false manner, as long as the confidence is not established it seems impossible to build a friendly relationship (D1 89-93)

The Islamic civil society leader, Ö1, stresses that the EU is not consisted vis-à-vis Muslim TV and the Kurdish Issue. He mentions that problems exist with Muslim TV broadcasts in Germany, that they are closed immediately on the pretext that they could support terrorism. But, on the other hand, Roj TV, which overtly supports terror, is not banned. Despite the fact that the Muslim TV broadcasters in question definitely do not support terrorism, they are tracked only due to their support for the Palestinians. There are attempts to close them, and raids are conducted. It does not seem to be consistent at all in this sense:

The classical imperial logic is reigning in which it is tried to pull a country in to a dependence relationship, and the issue with the Kurds is used as a tool in order to exert pressure and control on it. I am not saying this for all, but particularly in relation to the societies. There are people who really want that something be done against this. (Ö1:363-372)

### ***The Visa Problem***

The visa problem is a factor that diminishes trust in the EU. Despite the fact that Turkey is an official EU candidate country and has been a member of the Customs Union for 17 years, it has been dealing with strict visa regulations from the EU for a long time. Turkish citizens face stringent requirements when applying for a visa to visit the European Union. This has been criticised several times by Turkish officials. The Minister for EU Affairs Egemen Bagis stated several times that the visa regime was unfair and stated that they expect the EU to remove the “illegal, unjust and irrational visas” (Hürriyet Dailynews 2012). Zafer Çağlayan, Turkey’s Minister of Economy, has criticised the EU’s visa regime and called it “a human rights violation” during a meeting of the Turkish-Belgian Business Forum in Istanbul (EU-Platform 2012). As a result, a visa dialogue has been started, and the European Commission has presented a roadmap for visa liberalisation with Turkey and outlined key steps for a visa-free agreement with Turkey. The conservative trades union leader H1 views the visa issue as follows:

The issue with the visas, the perception of Turks... These aren’t good things. Something like this doesn’t fit into a partnership, and something like this doesn’t fit into common living. It is something that locks Turkey in an unfair drawer. This must be cancelled. I think that the cancellation of the visas will relieve Europe. We must be free, then we can construct the social model of Europe here, develop its strategies, generate the environment, in which the European would feel comfortable, and design the environment that would strengthen us. But this perception of Turkey-Europe, there is always a log in the corner and edge. Let’s discuss about and solve these logs, and not run on hindrances. There may be red lines for us, there may be no red lines in the modern world. (H1:1280-89)

### ***Arguments of EU Inconsistency by Kurdish and Roma CSO Leaders***

I will now scrutinise the arguments of CSO leaders that create scepticism towards the EU. A Kurdish civil society leader, I1 (69-77), highlights that the attitude of the Kurdish population with respect to the European Union is conditional. Generally, even Kurdish groups show large ideological, religious and cultural differences. It can be claimed that Kurdish support for EU membership increases when the claims of the Kurdish people are supported by Europe and when positive statements are made by the European leaders. The more distanced the rhetoric of the EU towards Kurds becomes, and the more it remains uninvolved in the problems of Kurds in Turkey, Kurdish support decreases. Hence, a pragmatic stand can be observed.

When Europe supports the Turkish state against Kurds, than hostile reactions may be experienced. To that effect, Da1 stresses that trust in the EU among Kurds has declined. The EU has been the only trustworthy international power for Kurds, but this trust has been greatly diminished. According to Da1, the international hegemonic powers and the EU's attitudes towards Syria, Iran, Afghanistan and Palestine constitutes a very good sample for Kurds (Da1:1360-1364).

Moreover, the EU has not been exerting more pressure in regards to the localisation issue, which would provide Kurds with more benefits (Da1:1364-367). A Kurdish CSO leader argues that one should establish a border as long as the values of human rights are used as a double standard. He states that the EU deems themselves worthy of applying human rights in their own societies, but then in turn does not seem to believe that other countries deserve the same rights – and thus there should definitely be a border established vis-à-vis these issues (I1:50-55). Moreover, I1 thinks that there are reservations regarding the distribution of EU funds. While there is a serious group who use these, I1's group have always distanced themselves from EU funds because a double moral standard dominates. He says that the reason for this is that when one does not comply with the strategies of the European Union either in terms of using these funds or of the results arising from them, the flow of money is stopped immediately, something he regards as a double moral standard (I1:77-80).

According to the Roma leader interviewed, the Roma are discriminated against in Europe, pointing to cases in the Czech Republic and France. Even if the EU has brought human rights developments, recent events such as the incidents in France two years ago have cooled their enthusiasm. R1 mentions that during these actions, pregnant Roma women were thrown to the ground and the Roma people were expelled. He mentions the discrimination against the Roma in the following:

What springs to mind when you say Europe: the freedom of movement. Now, you could find another title for it, you could say "the Roma may not enter", they should have called it that. When it is about Europe, it should be free for all human beings, since it covers the human beings, for all humans. But what you see is that Roma women are sterilised in the Czech Republic, in another land walls were erected around places where Roma were living. That something like that doesn't happen in Turkey, I want to thank my God, something like this is not to be seen in Turkey. It's possible that we have housing problems in some places, that we are relocated, but we try to solve this too. (R1:1010-1024)

According to R1, the sterilisation of women in the Czech Republic has the aim to ensure that the Roma population does not grow by eliminating the next generation. Roma have been discriminated against in the Czech Republic and France. Hence, according to R1, the freedom

of movement has not been granted to the Roma. R1 argued that “it is said that the EU is the cradle of civilisation, but this cradle stinks to the high heavens” (R1:1037-1043).

### ***Overconfidence***

After having mainly showed, which factors decrease the confidence in the EU, which is a necessary condition for Eurocynicism, I will investigate the issue of overconfidence in the CSO leaders’ discourses. Euroscepticism has been augmented by overconfidence particularly in the conservative and Islamic discourses. The media and political discourses have stressed that Turkey has acquired more self-esteem, making EU membership seem less essential. The political scientist Cengiz Aktar (2011) mentions that the Euro crisis has increased public distrust towards the EU. Nevertheless the increasing confidence ignores the fact that Turkey is also economically tied to the EU, as the EU is Turkey’s most important trade partner. Aktar says that after the general elections in June 2011, the reforms were stopped and argues that "there's a real tendency among Turkish politicians toward excessive self-confidence. That's very dangerous" (Aktar 2011). In a similar vein, representing the tone of the businessman’s discourse, Ishak Alaton mentioned in an interview in *Today’s Zaman* that the “AK Party [is] wounded by overconfidence, lame without strong opposition. The government is living above clouds. This overconfidence has been strengthened by the general elections 2011 in which the AKP achieved almost fifty per cent of the vote” (*Today’s Zaman* 2012).

The interview data provides further insight into the different ways in which Eurocynicism is constructed. Until now, the notion of Eurocynicism has not been extensively elaborated upon. For the sake of this capital, it is appropriate to use this term because it fits the phenomena being analysed in this chapter well, and has an explanatory value in the case in hand. The following excerpt from a conservative civil society leader supportive of the AKP policies is a good example of the overconfidence part of the Eurocynic argumentation strategy:

Turkey was much different in 2002: it had become a society that could not produce nor consume, salaries could not be paid, nothing could get processed, this was not what the European Union wanted; Turkey had become a land that was not able to process anything at all. Turkey had to be a country that produces and consumes, that consumes European products – that was why they were supporting this country. But now, Turkey is a free country in contact and conversation with neighbouring countries, Arabian countries. Now it has become a country that sets its opinion forth in scathing terms opposing a country like Israel, that was when the European Union started to hesitate. They need a weak, forceless Turkey, they would support a Turkey that depends on Europe, but they try to find pretexts when facing a country that would set forth opinions opposing Europe and that would come to table and fight for its rights. That’s the problem! The necessity of Turkey for Europe has increased extremely. This increased necessity has brought the EU closer to Turkey. But, it is a fact that the necessity of the EU for Turkey did not increase parallel to the former. Here is a reverse proportion. Though it is today difficult to say where this spiral can turn sociologically, politically and economically, but we see that in terms of the official politics

Turkey has turned towards the EU and the EU towards Turkey, but I must also say that good will is not very recognisable. (Me1:3-21)

In the excerpt above, the reference to 2002 marks the beginning of the AKP era that transformed Turkey into a strong country. The interviewee constructs a strong duality between the pre-AKP and post-AKP periods in order to strengthen his argument. Accordingly, it needs to be underlined that the beginning of the AKP era and the current situation are often compared in order to demonstrate how Turkey has become more powerful economically and in international politics. The referential strategy used here is the *éclat* of Erdoğan at Davos.<sup>119</sup> Hence, this event has a strong symbolic value in the eyes of the Islamic and conservative civil society leaders and one of the most important sources of overconfidence, which is interpreted as a sign of power. The predication strategy of two different Turkeys pre-AKP and post-AKP can be considered as a case of interdiscursivity with the statement of the government party.

Discussions on the AKP often lead to repetitive conclusions of Turkey as economically powerful. The predication of two different Turkeys are employed together in constructing the success of the AKP that excludes the negative events happened during the AKP period. Hence, the AKP government has a strong influence in the civil society discourses of the conservative and Islamic camp. Moreover, it should be noted that an implicit Euroscepticism is present here that stresses that Europe does not want that Turkey became a strong country. Additionally, the way in which Turkey would contribute to the synergy of the EU is explained with the foreign policy choices of Turkey that are not only dependent to Europe, but also on good relations with the Arab countries that were ignored by the Kemalists for a long time:

Things have changed since the AK Party formed a government. AK Party is still in dialogue with Europe, but their relationship to each other has changed. What once was a unilateral relationship, as a diplomatic understanding established by single party and coup d'état regime, despite its own society had to change together with the world conjuncture and the Middle East. Turkey tried to establish equal relationships, as a country with self-confidence, with neighbouring countries and all the countries in the world, just like Germany. This is totally normal. (M1:890-898)

The excerpt above constructs Turkey as a powerful country like Germany with the *topos* of overconfidence. The governing party's coming into power is marked as a historical turning point. Another Islamic CSO leader refers to the importance of the Ottoman history in the memory of European countries in the following excerpt

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<sup>119</sup> Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan attracted a lot of attention worldwide for storming out of a Gaza panel at Davos. Before storming out, Erdoğan told Shimon Peres, the Israeli president: "You are killing people." (Al Jazeera 2008). A large crowd met him in Istanbul, there were demonstrations supporting him in Gaza and people called Erdoğan a hero and a world leader.



The sub-consciousness I mean is based on the Ottoman Period, the crusades and the rising of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. During my participation in the Vienna Meetings, I had the chance to stay in Vienna. As an Islamic figure, as a veiled women in Vienna people were sniping around me, they still have the image of an Ottoman army trying to conquer Vienna. I think that the rejection of the society in front of Turkey is based on this image of our country in their subconscious. As our country gets stronger, this image comes to the fore. (A1:670-677)

A frequent referential strategy is to mention the Siege of Vienna by the Ottoman Empire and the conquest of Constantinople.<sup>120</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that it is only an observation of the respondent regarding European countries, the metaphoric expressions such as the “subconsciousness of Europe” corresponds to the power of these memories. This argument firstly presupposes that Europe cannot forget its past with the Ottoman Empire. It reproduces the glorified history of Ottoman Empire and adapts to the context of the EU accession process. Both the discursive equivalence formulated between Ottoman Empire and power image and its effect on Europe’s subconsciousness, as well as the bifurcation of Turkey before the AKP era and Turkey after the AKP came to power suggest a strong interdiscursivity with Erdoğan’s political discourse. This excerpt exemplifies the use of “departicularisation”, which refers to the arbitrary selection of historical events in constructing historical narratives and in justifying the case in hand. The nationalist CSO leader Ka1 states the power of Turkey in the following excerpt:

There are still our cognates, co-religionists living on the lands left by the Ottoman Empire, we have become a society subject to expectation and hope from their side. The responsibility of the Turkish citizens are not limited with their own geography, Turkish and Islamic society means hope for suffering and aggrieved countries: Palestine oppressed by the Israelis, the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the depressed society in Chechnya all call help from Turkey, Hocali is occupied in Azerbaijan, who are they waiting help from? –Of course, Turkey. (Ka1:102-108)

The excerpt above discursively constructs Turkey “as a hope for suffering countries”. As encountered earlier in the case of other discourses, Turkey is attributed a regional role. The excerpt employs the topos of regional power in exaggerating Turkey’s strength.

Another point that needs to be highlighted is the blurring of the division at the discursive level between the Islamists, conservatives and the social democrats and leftists. The analysis up

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<sup>120</sup> ‘The Turkish Siege’ (Türkenbelagerung) is often present in different political discourses in Austria and especially in Austrian collective memory. “Constructing ‘Turks’ as ‘Europe’s other’ as a consequence of myth-history and gender relations allows ‘Europeans’ to depict ‘them’ as uncivilised, threatening and traditional, and, consequently, to refuse them immigration and accession to the EU” (Strasser 2008:193).

to this point suggests that Eurocynicism is largely present mainly among the civil society leaders supportive of the AKP policies and some nationalist CSO leaders, which are unfortunately underrepresented in this study. The full corpus displays a strong intertextuality with the strategic depth thesis of the Foreign Minister Ahmed Davudoglu and with the so-called Neo-Ottomanism of the AKP. There is an additional historical layer to the Eurocynic discourse composed of an overconfidence and scepticism towards Europe, namely Vienna sieg and conquest of Constantinople. The overconfidence topos misperceives the subjective probabilities in utilising heuristics that are mental shortcuts, where focussing on one particular aspect of a phenomenon or process may lead to wrong decision. A strong cognitive bias may lead to incorrect judgment and perceptual distortion. In the interview data there are a great deal of confirmation biases, meaning the inclination to search for information that confirms one's preconceptions and leaving contrary information outside the analysis. Nevertheless, a categorisation of Europe and the EU to their essential nature in spite of variations – essentialism – is less present.

Another important point is the high expectations from the EU process based on wishes and estimates. Nevertheless, when the expectations are not met, disappointment arises. Moreover, Eurocynicism goes hand in hand in an illusion of control, meaning the inclination to overestimate one's influence over the EU. In an interesting excerpt, a conservative civil society leader links the power of Turkey to Ottoman Empire:

Turkey had to give up its regional and global claims in the latest period of the Ottoman Empire and the first period of the Republic and had to deal with three main diplomatic problems which are Aegean Crisis, Cyprus Issue, and Russia Problems. When Osman Gazi died in 1322 his last will from Orhan Gazi was that the sky to be his tent, in this sense, the military, economic and politic power of Turkey is embarrassing the regional and global goals. As a consequence, the regional and global goals show up as a new opponent for the European Union is a danger for America, as an unpredictable event for the European Union, AK Party has assured political and economic stability, provides progress and strengthened Turkey in socio-politic aspects, this is how Turkey has satisfied its regional goals and global expectations, the European Union has then pulled back its support for Turkey. This does not mean that Turkey had become a local power and global actor thanks to the support of the European Union and that when this support is pulled back, Turkey does not have any chances... Turkey will always be a regional leader and global actor. (Me1:130-144)

Such discursive constructs become all more notable in the discourse of conservative and Islamic civil society leaders. The excerpt above constructs Turkey that moves beyond a focus on its domestic politics towards a more global regional role.<sup>121</sup> The regional role that Turkey is

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<sup>121</sup> Reiter mentions that opponents to Turkey's accession stress that the membership may lead to security risks and proponents of the EU membership finds it strategically important to establish a greater influence for the EU in the Middle East and to enable the EU become a global player (Reiter et al. 2006).

supposed to play is discussed at more length and with a referential strategy to Ottoman Empire and its founders. In a similar vein, the extract above constructs Turkey as a world power under the AKP. This demonstrates once again the close interdiscursivity with Neo-Ottomanism. The AKP attributes to the positively predicated Turkey a global/regional role within which it needs to assert itself over the EU and United States. Turkey is constructed in a certain manner regarding its role in the international system through references to the EU accession process. The excerpts conceptualises Turkey as a global or regional player, hence with a strong overconfidence topos. Borrowing largely from the main tenets of neo-Ottomanist discourse and strategic depth thesis of Ahmet Davutoglu, the topos of overconfidence is stabilised. This contributes to positive self-representation of Turkey, where Europe is predicated as problematic. According to the conviction of a conservative CSO leader, Turkey has an empire background and involved in war with European countries which result mistrust within the integration process with Europe:

I think that the past has an influence. A country with an imperial spirit, and thus, it must always be careful against this country since it can never be foreseen what it might do and has always to be handled with great care. For example the USA, they have an imperial past, too. China has an imperial policy, Iran has an imperial policy. When you have to be careful in your relations with these, so is Turkey in the eyes of others a country, at which you must handle with more care than the others (D1:205-215).

The metaphor of “imperial spirit” is used as a referential strategy to the Ottoman past and compared Turkey with China, Iran and the USA. The excerpt above predicates Turkey as an imperial power in the international scene, implicitly warning Europe to be more careful and mindful in the relations with Turkey. Reference to “imperial spirit” also implies the role of Turkey as a regional power. The fact that such a construction is largely absent from the data of Kemalist, Kurdish, Alevi, leftist and liberal civil society leaders can be interpreted as part of their scepticism towards this rhetoric of the AKP and their obvious power consolidation in domestic politics. In contrast, the excerpt above predicates Turkey as a heir of the Ottoman Empire and built close connections with its strength and the EU accession process. It has so far been argued that in the discursive site of the civil society leaders close to the AKP, Europe has been constructed as dependent to Turkey to overcome its crisis and the power of Turkey has been exaggerated.

As noted earlier, we observe an over-confidence relating Turkey’s strength and economic success. This is visible mainly among the groups that are close to the AKP and utilise a “We do not need Europe” discourse. In order the strengthen my argumentation on Eurocynicism the following excerpts are very clarifying:

If Turkey is with its geo-political location and economy a necessity for the EU in ten different aspects, so is the membership to the EU a necessity for Turkey in a single aspect. The reality of Europe in 2012, the reality of the world, of the international system in 2012, the international real politics looks like this. Nevertheless, we see that all countries use their statements, their policies rather as an argument at the domestic politics. Though in Turkey the AKP approaches the issue with a greater honesty, Sarkozy and Merkel have always used the relations between Turkey and the EU as material during their domestic elections. It must be recognized that this attitude greatly affects the integration in the political sense and that therefore both with regard to the EU and Turkey this association must be performed beyond any utopian targets on stable fundamentals. The progress is more positive since the establishment of the AK Party Government, Ahmet Davutoglu, being the minister of foreign politics in Turkey, he has reflected his vision with strategic depth to diplomatic issues, so the European Union is not the sole politic door without alternative for Turkey any more, it is one of the many alternatives of Turkey, just a choice, I think that the Turkey-European Union relationship is now in the favour of Turkey since Ahmet Davutoglu. (Me1:580-591)

This relationship has many obstacles in cultural aspects, but the real conjuncture of the international system of politics makes this relationship inevitable for the European Union, it is even forced to this union. Considering the foreign conjunctures, we see that the foreign conditions of the European Union is forcing in many levels to the integration of Turkey. Even more than Turkey wanting the full membership of the European Union, the desire of this membership by the locomotive countries of the European Union will be determinant in this progress (D1:200-206)

In the excerpts above, the necessity of the EU for the Turkey and vice versa is compared and stated in an exaggerated sense that Turkey needs the EU far less than the EU needs Turkey. Along these lines, the necessity of Turkey for Europe is stressed as Turkey has too much power within the balance of power. The utterance constructs the EU as an organisation dependent on Turkey for its economy and overcoming the crisis. Furthermore, it is connected quite often with the so-called double standards of the EU leaders and their use of Turkey's accession process as a rhetorical tool in domestic elections. In this way, the justification of overconfidence is somehow guaranteed. A binary opposition between the honesty of the AKP and untrustworthy Europe is constructed. The linkage of the issue to the international real politics seems to serve rhetorically to strengthen the value of Turkey in relations with the EU. Europe's predication as an untrustworthy partner establishes a dominant discursive nadal point. The use of the term "strategic depth" is particularly significant in this context, as it refers to Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu's book.

Although the extracts above can be considered as similar to the ones before them, specifically in the way in which the also constructs the issue of the necessity of the EU for Turkey, it also introduces a new dimension to the debate in the argumentation strategies it employs. While stressing the strategic depth thesis, the EU considered one among many alternatives for Turkey. Moreover, it can be argued that the referential strategy of double

standard signifying the cases of Sarkozy and Merkel is quite often used as a legitimising and shadowing mechanism of the AKP's unwillingness implementing further reforms and lack of confidence in the EU:

We cannot accept the European Union to jerk around Turkey and to play with our diplomatic honour. Turkey has to orientate itself to new quests according to its international interests, as a country looking for alternative co-operations in foreign politics to the east, west, north, south, up to 360 degrees, even to the other end of the world, to the far east, far America. We are not supporting the strategy of the European Union as a monopoly but if considering the globalising Turkey of 2002 as a leader in its region. If Turkey will be an effective actor globally, there is no harm that the relationship or Turkey and European Union progress in a rational level in diplomatic sense but it has not be in a way to harm the honour of states and societies. (H1:101-110)

I guess Turkey had undersigned the Ankara Agreement in 1962, I think that Turkey has been torn too much in the process from the 1962 Ankara Agreement to 2005. Turkey has become a self confident country since the establishment of the AK Party Government and things have become more acceptable considered from the Turkish aspect, I think as an interphrase that Turkey is losing too much time diplomatically in the European Union process. We cannot accept that Turkey has been held out by the EU for so long, that its diplomatic honour is offended. I think that Turkey is treated very bad since the Ankara Agreement of 1962 until 2005. Even if it should have achieved with the AKP government a more down-to-earth, a more acceptable level, we want to note that Turkey has lost much time in terms of diplomacy. (Me1:403-414)

The excerpts above stresses that the EU plays with Turkey's diplomatic honour and reinforces the belief of a multilevel foreign diplomacy. The general mechanism of the argumentation strategy of the conservative and Islamic leaders follow mainly a linear line, namely that decreased trust in the EU stemming from perceived double standards of the EU and the ensuing Euroscepticism combined with overconfidence that makes up the Eurocynic discourse. They show how the topos of powerful Turkey and weak Europe is constructed.<sup>122</sup> Hence, the discourses show a strong interdiscursivity with Erdoğan's stress on powerful rather than democratic Turkey. Additionally, there is a case of explicit and implicit intertextuality to Ahmed Davudoglu's book *Strategic Depth*, in which EU membership is not considered as the only alternative for Turkey. The interviews suggest that the interdiscursivity with the strategic depth thesis is only prevalent in the discourses of the respondents that are close to the AKP.

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<sup>122</sup> Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stressed that Turkey is seriously considering seeking membership in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) as an alternative at a time when the EU's future looks increasingly grim. "The fact is that we have not yet given up on the EU process. Erdoğan said, noting the government's continued interest in the EU despite the pessimistic atmosphere surrounding the country's EU bid. If we get into the SCO, we will say good-bye to the European Union. The Shanghai Five is better -- much more powerful. Pakistan wants in. India wants in as well. If the SCO wants us, all of us will become members of this organization." When asked to clarify whether the Shanghai Five is an alternative to the EU, he said, "The Shanghai Five is better and more powerful, and we have common values with them" (Chinaorg 27.01.2013).

As can be observed in the excerpt above, referential strategies are realised through the double standard expressions in different issues combined with the topos of not trustable EU. The necessity of the EU for Turkey is naturalised and justified via the nominalisation of the international real politic. In a similar vein, real politic is presented as a powerful process in relation to which Europe needs to position itself. Nominalisation, by ignoring the agency of an act, constructs the act as natural. It is not clear what the international real politic suggests in this context, so that the necessity of the EU to Turkey becomes enormous.

When we look from both sides, the project of establishing a monopolar political system after the breakdown of the Warsaw Pact has seriously remitted the European Union. During Cold War Time, the European Countries were in the progress as a shareholder with America in the NATO Block, with the breakdown of the Warsaw Pact the hard power doctrine of Bush has pushed up America to the a leading position, this has offended the European Union, I also think that this has smoothed their diplomatic honour. For the European Union to rise as a regional and global power in the political system, it needs new synergies more than their own power. In this sense Turkey is an inevitable alternative for the European Union. (Me1:302-316)

The EU needs new synergies beyond its own power in order to come to the foreground as a regional and global power within the political system again and I think that Turkey is for EU the sole alternative without a counter alternative. This means that Turkey is for the EU an alternative in this sense, which cannot be replaced. Turkey is a unique opportunity for it is. It is it in any term. May is be the human potential, its geo-strategic location, its economic resources, but the important is, if you see it in a demographic perspective, it seems to be impossible for the EU to sustain this economic structure, the strong prosperity state with its ageing, not really workable population. (D1:234-242)

In the first excerpt above the result of increasing overconfidence is that Turkey is seen as the sole synergy for the EU without an alternative. It discursively reproduces the powerful Turkey and the need for Turkey by the EU, but neglects the fact that Turkey is dependent to the EU because the EU is Turkey's foremost trading partner. The above excerpt suggests that the EU needs Turkey in order to become a global power, otherwise it will lose diplomatic honour and will not be able to compete with America. Hence, Turkey's geopolitical significance is stressed for the EU as the only alternative. The excerpt above also invokes Turkey's contribution to the European defence identity by employing the topos of history in reference to Turkey's role in the Cold War as part of the Western bloc and as a loyal partner with a strong army (see also Düzgit 2013) The second excerpt above established a clear binary divide between the positively predicated young, dynamic Turkey and the negatively predicated old and stable Europe. The inequality in this binary dichotomy weighs in favour of Turkey. Hence, the implicit assumption behind this binary classification is to increase the importance of Turkey for the EU and to make it the sole alternative for the EU. This assumption links to the construction of Turkey as an

enabler distinguished from the EU by its geo-strategic location, economic resources and young population.

While Turkey is predicated positively, this construction itself reproduces the strategic depth thesis through the topos of overconfidence, treating Turkey more powerful than actually it is. The way in which Turkey will overcome the crisis of the EU is an issue that is untouched. Below is one more important example of this overconfidence:

Meanwhile, our military power, economic power covers the global and regional goals of Turkey. That the global and regional goals of Turkey now take the stage as competitors, constitutes for the EU and even for America a treat. Therefore, that the AKP has ensured the political stability, economic stability in an unexpected manner and thus has economically developed and strengthened Turkey on the socio-political level and because these match the regional desires, the global expectations of the country and the people, has the EU in this sense, as it always handled in favour of its own advantages, withdrawn its support for Turkey. But this doesn't mean that Turkey was a regional power, a global player only due to the support of the EU, and won't be so only due to the missing support. The regional power position, the global role of Turkey and the Turkish people will sustain and it will, so God will, continuously improve. (M1:148-159)

I think that a strong government and the increase of the gross national income of Turkey are factors which throw back the EU process. That it has a strong government, achieves more prosperity. The stronger Turkey gets, the more concerned is the EU. Turkey is the only country in the region with an empire-background and this imperialism is a disconcerting structure. A definite national income is a controllable Turkey, and that above this definite national income is an uncontrollable Turkey, and that's why it causes concerns in minds. (D1:413-420)

Referential strategies realised through metaphorical expressions such as “global player” and “regional player” are combined with the topos of the overconfidence help construct a Turkey more powerful than it is actually is. This is strengthened by the threat topos and implies an important degree of power. It is notable that a discursive equivalence is formulated between EU and USA by constructing Turkey as a threat for them. The overlexicalisation attained by the word groups, global expectations and the regional desires can be considered as part of an attempt to close the power gap between Turkey, the USA and the EU. The “We do not need EU” topos is present, constructing again an overconfidence case. It also needs to be noted here that such rhetoric is confined to conservatives or Islamists who support AKP and its policies. In contrast, many of the other interviewees see the power of Turkey is diminished with the deficits in democracy. A liberal respondent, H1, explains this overconfidence in stating: “...in Turkey, problems are not looked at, the omnipresent problems of daily living, where these are forgotten for a moment and handled according to the motto ‘Who the hell is Europe...’, in a

very funny, condescending way” (HDV:1355-1360). The following excerpt from a Muslim CSO leader proves this argumentation:

When you look back, Turkey’s field of vision looked very different in 2002. Turkey became a community, which could not consume, a country, which couldn’t pay out its servants, in which nothing functioned and this was something, what the EU didn’t want at all. Turkey had to be a producing, consuming, European goods consuming country. That’s why they have supported Turkey. But now, after Turkey became a free country, that it sustained dialogues with its neighbours, with the Arab countries and can defy Israel in case, they have begun to get suspicious. They want a semi-weak Turkey. When it is dependent on Europe, then they support it, but Turkey becomes a country, which defies Europe, which achieves a position to negotiate with Europe, they begin to criticize, try to find any pretexts. Here lie the actual problems. (M1:460-470)

As also observed in the other discursive settings under analysis, both the excerpts above predicate Turkey as an independent power. The following extract stresses again the importance of Turkey for the EU:

Consequently, the politicians and statesmen in the European Union should perceive this issue in a micro level and consider Turkey as an opportunity. There are many aspects that make an opportunity of Turkey, the human potential, geo-strategic location, economic resources and demographic aspect. With the elderly population of Europe it won’t be possible to sustain the economic structure and the wealth of states. The European families going to Africa and adopting babies will postpone the breakdown of this system for five or ten years but it won’t help building a permanent diplomatic system, so Turkey will still shine for this subject. The pressure of these conditions will force the European Union to an accepting approach in the contrary of the rejecting approach of the past ten years, this will trigger the total membership process seriously. (Me1:1002-1011)

What is most striking in the above excerpt is the example of European families going to Africa to adopt children. This selected and exaggerated example mentions the old population of the EU and serves as a justification mechanism of the EU membership of Turkey with its young population.

In this excerpt, the necessity of the EU for Turkey is again expressed in an exaggerated manner and Turkey is predicated as a world power that does not need the EU anymore:

After Ahmet Davutoglu became the minister for foreign policy, I think that our route in global and European scale has landed on a right surface. If his approach is followed Turkey will be directing to the globe in total, not in an empirical sense of course, but Turkey will get an important place in this system as a regional leader and a global actor. In the last five to ten years, we observed that our public administration system and diplomatic bureaucracy has been settled well, I hope this will stay balanced as it is. (Me1:320-326)

The excerpt further demonstrates that the statements of European leaders contributed to this sense of over-confidence. Premised on the assumption that there is an inherent tension between Turkey and the EU, Ahmed Davutoglu’s foreign policy is predicated as essential for resolving



this tension and how Turkey can become a regional leader with or without the EU. What needs to be noted in the discourse of civil society elites close to the AKP is the reiterated emphasis on the role of Turkey as a world power. This discourse belongs particularly to pro-AKP civil society leaders and is not discernable in the other discursive sites under analysis. What is perhaps more particular to the case in hand is, in contrast to the other spheres of analysis, the way in which there was no evidence suggesting Turkey's internal democracy deficits, which other discursive sites often mention. This can be considered as a case of interdiscursivity with the AKP leaders and especially Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu. The analysis suggests that this discursive sphere is quite dominant in the discourse of the pro-AKP CSO leaders and connected to other discursive nodes in the foreign policy discourse of the AKP. These extracts highlight the importance of Turkey in refuting the strategic depth thesis, with explicit intertextual references to the concept. Turkey is predicated as a model for the Muslim world, with its secular state and its democracy, with its shortcomings not acknowledged. The speakers invoke Turkey as a power in the interests of the EU for gaining international political weight. It shares codes with the strategic depth discourse at uses related concepts and images. "On the other hand, over-confidence is a mere feeling without much to back up, and is often a result of over-projecting one's past experiences and believing oneself to be the cause and reason for the results" (Chandra 2002). It neglects the need for evidence, rather, it is just a gut feeling of one's abilities. Many times overconfidence is a result of overestimating one's competencies and underestimating situations, environments and other people's competencies; as such, overconfidence fosters arrogance and pomp. It often creates a path to failure (Chandra 2012).

Another example of the Eurocynicism can be observed in the following excerpt from a conservative civil society leader:

And here seems Turkey to be a bite for the EU. Turkey's location, its relations etc., that's why the EU implements double moral standards. That, what we see is the Cyprus issue, the Armenia issue, but with respect to the perspectives of the people, who have to handle these issues with the EU will the double moral standard be more extended. (D1:202-205)

The extract above employs the metaphoric use "Turkey as a bite for the EU" implicitly refers to the argumentation that the attitude of the EU towards Turkey has worsened because of the strengthening of Turkey economically and politically. The dominant conservative/Islamic discourse suggests that Turkey is a "big game", "a gulp" for Europe and so the EU finds the solution in implementing double standards.

Turkey is a huge bite for the EU, its position and connections make Turkey a big bite, this is why the EU is applying double standards. What we see are the Cyprus and Armenia

issues, I am sure that there are many more double standards that can't be seen from our side. There is a discussion pending: "Do you think our foreign politics should be focused on the European Union or the Middle East or better other directions?", as axis shift. Just as the human being won't get nourished from a single nutrient, the countries should establish their relationships analysing their balance and rebalance themselves in foreign relationships. Turkey is still located in his axe, there is no axial dislocation, Turkey is trying to establish and develop relationships with Europe, America, China and the Islamic World. (D1:402-412)

On axis shift discussion<sup>123</sup> another Islamic CSO leader states the following:

We were considering the axis shift as an absurd and artificial discussion. I still think that it has been brought out in order to weaken and overthrow the AK Party Government. People issuing these discussions are the representatives of the Kemalist System, even if they don't declare it honestly, they have such a power to manipulate and disinformation. Just as peer pressure, they start a topic and try to bring the EU in. They had success in the last days, with the freedom of thought and journalist topics. They had not succeeded in the last topics but this time they will. (Ö1:903-908)

"Fearless Turkey" is a common metaphor among the conservative and Islamic civil society leaders as can be observed in the following excerpt:

The government getting stronger and the increase of the national income of Turkey have backspaced the EU process. A strong government getting richer... EU is concerned about Turkey getting stronger. Turkey is the only state that got imperial in geography, this is a structure of which the imperialism concerns. A precise national income is controllable but more of it is not controllable, this is why it concerns. When everything goes normal the Western civilisation is good, enviable, but when the conflict of profits comes into play, the West gets unacceptable, unbearable. (D1:501-507)

According to this opinion, a strong government and the increase of Turkey's gross national income are factors that throw back the EU process. The logic presupposes that the stronger Turkey gets, the more concerned is the EU about Turkey's strength. Turkey is the only country in the region with a history as an empire, and this imperialism is a disconcerting structure. A definite national income means a controllable Turkey, and that above this definite national income means an uncontrollable Turkey, which is why it causes concerns in some people's minds (D1:215-220). The necessity of Turkey for Europe is stressed prominently throughout the discourse. According to this belief, the necessity of Turkey for Europe has greatly increased and has brought the EU closer to Turkey. However, it is believed that the necessity of the EU for Turkey did not increase parallel to the former. Here, there is an inverse proportion. "Though it is today difficult to see where this spiral can turn sociologically, politically and economically, we see that in terms of the official politics Turkey has turned towards the EU and the EU

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<sup>123</sup> As a result of the transformation initiated by the AKP government in foreign policy, observers have noticed a shift in Turkey's foreign policy from the West to the East.

towards Turkey, but I must also say that a good will is not that much recognizable” (Me1:1100-1106). Turkey is regarded as a unique opportunity for the EU.

This excerpt suggests the axis-shift discussion as an instrument to weaken the AKP. The Islamic CSO leaders link the influence of Turkey on the Middle East to its Islamic identity:

Do you think the power of Turkey will increase in the Middle East if it becomes a full member of the EU? It depends on the structure. As much as you get away from Islam, the structure will get weaker, the influence of Turkey on the Middle East gets its source from the religious identity of AK Party, none of the politics that came from the Kemalist System have got Turkey to a powerful status in the Middle East. It all depends from each other. (Ö1:102-106)

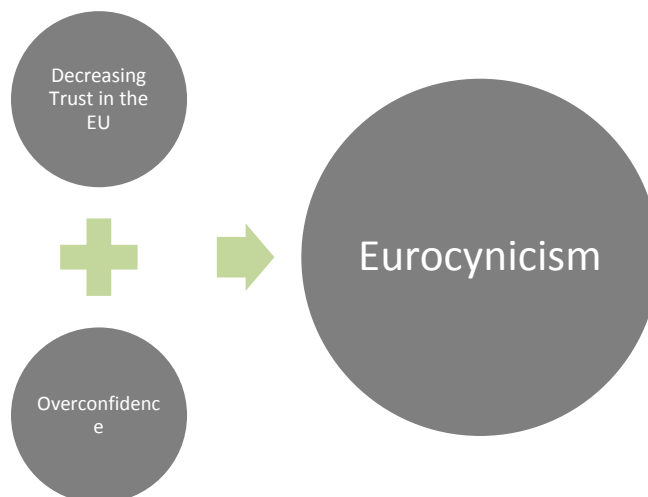
The positive images of Turkey in Middle East are linked to the Ottoman past and to Islamic character of the AKP. Since 2007, when the AKP came to power for a second term in office, it has taken the zero problem approach to its neighbours and aims to be more proactive in the neighbourhood. This is repeatedly observed by the CHP opposition party as a testimony to the growing anti-Europeanism and anti-Westernism in Turkish foreign policy as observed in the following excerpt:

Relations with the EU lead to be a regional power. There are further other aspects except this. It is said that Turkey is a regional power. But the privileged relations with the European Union, with Europe, the West play an important role at that Turkey is a regional power. I mean, the Arab countries, the Middle East would not have the same interest at Turkey when Turkey would break its relations with the European Union, with Europe, this is very important. Turkey will be deemed to be important in the region as long as it can sustain its relations with the European Union and in this context will the relations to Europe influence its relations to the others. (S1:242-249)

## ***Conclusion***

The analysis has identified two major representations of Europe that construct Turkey as a powerful country. The inconsistent EU that has led to decreased trust and overconfidence are highly prevalent among the conservative and Islamic CSO leaders. The representations are based upon the history of the Ottoman Empire and reproduce Ahmed Davudoglu's strategic depth thesis. The most common referential strategy is the powerful image of Ottoman Empire. A core discourse that runs through these representations is that of the strategic depth thesis, which is referenced both explicitly and implicitly. Although much less widespread than the strategic depth thesis, another case of interdiscursivity and intertextuality pertains to the criticism to axis-shift thesis advocated by the Republican People's Party. In formulating these representations, discursive strategies of Euroscepticism are coupled to denote a stable, progressive and economically powerful Turkey and a Europe in economic crisis that needs Turkey. Ideological fault lines are discernable in these representations, as the other group of CSO leaders distrust towards the EU leads not to Eurocynicism. The combination of overconfidence and Eurosceptic arguments are particularly visible in the conservative/Islamic discourse on the EU. Hence, the discourse analysis reveals two dominant representations that lead to this discourse topic: representation of the EU as instable, inefficient and economically weak in the context of Eurozone crisis and an imagined powerful Turkey. To sum up, the discourse analysis reveals that Eurocynicism mostly has its roots on the reaction to the discriminatory and down-looking rhetoric and policies of some European leaders and the double standards topos as well as the economic success of Turkey and its Ottoman past. Figure 7 shows the argumentative strategy of Eurocynicism in simple terms:

**Figure 7: Eurocynicism**



#### ***4.2.4 The EU as a Neoliberal Project***

The intense contestations over the capitalist nature of the European social and political system have surfaced in the analysis mainly among the leftist (including the leftist Alevi) discourse participants. The discursive construction of Europe as a capitalist centre is realised through two major representations of Europe: Europe as a transformative and colonial power (shared by Islamic and conservative respondents) and neoliberal Europe as the diluter of labour rights and enabler of privatisation in partnership with the AKP. These two discourses are closely interconnected and dominate in the analysed data of leftist civil society leaders. Europe is commonly represented among the leftist civil society leaders as a capitalist project that transforms the accession countries according to neoliberal policies.

To begin with, the leftist civil society leader T2 argues that the flow of capital is for the EU more important than the democratic values in Turkey. In other words, the distribution of the capital flowing from Europe to Turkey has a greater relevance for the EU than the democracy deficits in Turkey. Moreover, as the EU is not homogenous in terms of capital, it is ultimately all about economic advantages and exploitation of the Turkish market. This argumentation strategy is visible in the following excerpt:

The EU accession process of Turkey is to a large extent about the competition of the economic forces of the European countries over the share of the Turkish market it cannot be talked about homogeneity, when it is about the shares of the German capital or French capital in Turkey; this is the most crucial aspect for both the upper class having high standards and prosperity level, and the middle class in Europe. (T2:43-48)

Parallel to this view, for a leader of an important labour union, Es1, the EU is regarded as a project of capitalist-imperialist countries. Es1 mentions that the EU project is actually a project of the western, capitalist-imperialist countries. For him, it is not possible to say that this project is to the favour of the labour force and the workers (Es1:1177-1180). Furthermore, according to Es1, when one analyses carefully, the EU process does not lead to democratization but to flexible work relations. The topos of making labour relations flexible is often used in the construction of Europe as a neoliberal centre as in the following excerpt:

I see the EU as a flexibilisation of the labour force, and this flexibilisation is actually a neo-liberal project, in which the labour force has no more securities, cheap labour force is spread worldwide, that the capital cancels the borders in order to obtain more profit. (Tc1:80-83)

It can be generally claimed that a border management (*Grenzziehung* in German) strategy comes into foreground among the leftist civil society leaders, as the EU is dominantly perceived as a neoliberal project, “at which the production of a plant is split into thousand parts and transferred where the labour force is the cheapest, so a border should be established at this point since it tries to deprive the security of the labour force and try further cheapen it” (Tc1:107-110). Most often, Euroscepticism increases with a referential strategy to the historical practices of Turkey with the EU that had neoliberal character. For example, T2 refers to the Turkish political history and the neoliberal character of the EU in the following excerpt:

The relations with the EU has reached their zenith after the military government of September 12<sup>th</sup>, which means during this time Turkey has been governed with the laws of the EU and under the control of their institutions and the neo-liberal policies have been implemented to the full. (T2:103-107)

T2 further strengthens his argument in expressing that the EU has always supported privatisation, the mercerisation of health services and thus bolstered the sub-contracting and the unorganised state in Turkey and in other candidate countries. At the same time, for T2 (161-166), the same Europe took an active role at the breakup of Yugoslavia. This is another referential strategy to strengthen the construction of Europe as an interest-based neoliberal organisation.

Like other leftist leaders, T2 (185-201) argues that regardless of the different opinions within it, the main policy at the foundation of the EU and during the last thirty years was the fulfilment of the requirements of the new neoliberal world order. Thus, under the perspective of neo-liberalism, public services and rights are excluded. This is stated in the following excerpt:

According to T1, in all the EU countries, ambitions and opinions that focus on education, health and social security services are excluded systematically and made ineffective in the EU. Instead, the member countries focused only with a capitalist mentality on the needs of the market, so that the requests to improve the social conditions of the labour class, to reduce the inequalities and the injustice are excluded from the EU. (T2:135-141)

What is most striking is that the argumentation strategy of the leftist discourse points out to the harmony of AKP and neoliberal EU policies. T2 mentions that the policy of the AKP and that of the EU follow similar principles since both are governed by neoliberal, privatisation-based and market-oriented World Bank and IMF programmes. These programmes differ from each other only with regard to their effects and results in the respective countries. Hence, while the harms and destructive effects of these policies remained limited in centrally developed European countries, they resulted in much more serious economic, political and social problems

in countries like Turkey. Ka1 mentions the interest association between the AKP and the EU in the following:

I think that it sells the EU the empty phrase about the democratisation of Turkey very well, it makes it very trained, and the EU does so as if it would believe in this, but that, what I said before, may not be over read since there is an inseparable relation between the capital in Turkey and the EU and everything is actually determined by it. We can define it as an absolute interest association. (Ka1:1478-81)

According to leftist civil society leaders, in relation with the EU's radical privatisation programme, particularly the economic market programs in the fields of environment, urban development, health and social security contributed to the dramatic increase of jobs without social security, flexible and unregulated working, illegal employment, and hence poverty. Accordingly, the resulting increase of the population of workers without any social security leads to a political result, whereby dependency relationship between the AKP government and Turkish society is strengthened through the arbitrary aid provisions of the AKP, as it was the case in Europe in the 1930s and 1940s. The following excerpt exemplifies the issue:

The victory of the AKP in the elections in the last ten years is a result of this support of the poorest layer of the society. Whilst it can be expected that traditionally the lower class and the middle class would support the social democrats, the opposite have been happening: The upper class of Turkey supported the social democrats and the others supported the AKP. And within this European accession process the AKP has implemented the neo-liberal policies unconditionally and without hindrance, so basically it is in harmony with the EU and although there is strong ideological and religious differences. (T2:203-211)

The excerpt above refers to the deception of the lower classes in Turkey by the AKP.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, T2 (142-171) argues that it is not a coincidence that relations with the EU during the first years of the AKP have progressed very rapidly since the AKP implemented without any objection the programmes of the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the frame of neoliberal economic policy. It did this along with marketisation with respect to the political elimination of markets and borders, the free movement of goods, free movement of capital and as the subsequent step the free movement of labour force. To summarise, T2 stresses that the EU is already a part of this international capitalist system. T2's argumentation strategy engages in constructing the harmonisation of the AKP and the EU by predicating them as implementers of neoliberal policies. However, the

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<sup>124</sup> Yalman stresses that "analysing the state transformation that Turkey has been experiencing under the AKP governments requires a detailed look at the party's skilful manipulation of neoliberalisation with Islamisation in building its hegemonic opposition to the established Republican regime." (Yalman 2012: 21)

argumentation excludes the social rights and struggles in the EU and concentrates only on its neoliberal character to strengthen its construction. In addition to this discursive construction the argument, through the use of topos of inequality, excludes Europe's social welfare system. The leftist Euroscepticism composes of a critique of the EU's neoliberal character and its negative results. The topos of inequality highlights the unequal economic and political relations, and it can be seen until today during the course of relations, that the relative old technologies and things in Europe are imposed to countries like Turkey. Furthermore the discourse distinguishes Turkey and the EU countries in expressing that countries that have recently started to develop neoliberal programmes might experience more destructive effects like unemployment, privatisation, and impoverishment.

The discourse shows a strong interdiscursivity with the recently published book *Silent Violence: The AKP Years in Turkey*, that problematises the synthetic articulation of Islamic politics with neoliberal capitalism during the AKP party's rule over the last ten years. The authors claim that the AKP combined neoliberal policies with Islamism:

Islamism, indeed not an unfamiliar political stance since the foundation of Turkish Republic (1923), has provided the neoliberal pattern with an appropriate venue to develop the country. Certainly, in this articulation into neoliberal capitalism, Islamic politics have experienced a decisive transformation in relation to the state, economy, and society, thus, challenging the tension between modern, capitalist life-world and the Islamic precepts that have persisted throughout the republican history of Turkey. In its pursuit for power the AKP synthesises religious conservatism and neoliberalism. (Cosar and Özdemir 2012:11)

Nevertheless, in criticising the EU, the leftist discourse mainly does not regard the EU as a homogenous and a completed project. Leftist civil society leaders show high awareness of the fact that there are different approaches within the EU. They collaborate with the groups in the EU that defend that the EU is transforming itself into a social union, where borders are abolished and in which different countries and nations can live in peace together and where social rights and basic human rights are secured. However, because this approach is not supported by the entire European Union and by all European governments, and a strong Eurosceptic narrative is present. For example, Di1 mentions that they are advocates of this approach: they support a Europe where there are no borders anymore and where social rights are secured. The following excerpt shows this differentiated view regarding the EU:

There is also the other case; there are diverse approaches within the EU, which is contrary to the first dimension that support a Europe with competition, with more exploitation, with a strong European army. This approach belongs only to them and not valid for the different groups in favour of the EU membership with different visions such as the weakening of the influence of the military on the politics. (Di1:643-650)



As is typical of the leftist discourse in Turkey on the EU, the EU is not evaluated as a fixed or completed project. This argumentation strategy does not contain the argumentative fallacy of regarding the EU as static and does not essentialise it, and indicates that the struggle for a just Europe is ongoing. To illustrate, D1 stresses that they want a Europe, in which the borders are eliminated and social rights are secured, and they are dedicating their efforts to this goal and feel themselves as a part of this endeavour (Di1:650-662).

The interview data allows us to focus on the ways in which Europe and the EU is discursively constructed in the left-wing discourse. Generally, the leftist discourse condemns the double standard against labour. Even though all the necessary regulations are made regarding trade and the free movement of capital in the Copenhagen Criteria and given high priority by the European Parliament and Commission, the leftist discourse highlights that there is very little written about the granting of union rights and labour rights that would initiate the implementation of the 19<sup>th</sup> phrase. Mainly, leftist civil society leaders criticise the EU progress reports where sometimes only the single sentence “Nothing to report,” is written. Di1 expresses that this summarises the situation to a great extent and more weight should be given to labour rights and social rights (Di1:662-670). Di1 underlines his wish that the EU should become a peace project, not an imperialist centre in the following excerpt:

Of course it is true that the EU has not achieved its final form. There are some negative samples for it; for some the EU should be a competitive market, establish its own army and intervene in conflicts, participate in combats in different locations. We are against this. We want that the EU becomes a good willed peace project, a place where social rights are secured, but the EU wants to become an imperialist centre. At the same time there are those, who work toward that it becomes a capitalist market state, which is based on the further exploitation of the worker, low wages. These are points which we criticise. (Di1:670-677)

The above excerpt from a left-wing civil society elite does not essentialise the EU and accepts its dynamic nature. However it criticises the present situation of the EU. The designation of Europe as an imperialist centre through exploitation is a common argumentative strategy in the discourse of left-wing civil society leaders. This is realised mainly through the topos of imperialism and of exploitation representing the EU as a transformative neoliberal power that acts according to its own interests. K1 mentions the importance of the leftist parts in the EU in the following:

We only hear that the left, socialist, communist representative in the EU parliament notify Turkey on diverse platforms their opinions regarding the deficits, these problems, but

also know that not the left groups have the word in the EU, but the capital. (Sk2:1475-78)

In a similar vein, according to Es1, the EU project is at the same time the internalisation of the neoliberal transformation programme. He argues that one of the most important justifications for the losses of many rights for workers in Turkey has been the implementation of the EU standards. If one looks at the EU standards regarding work relations, they are reorganised in a more flexible and insecure way. Es1 mentions that the conditions in Turkey in terms of the labour rights twenty years ago were much more extensive, and today Turkey has departed from these rights. Viewed in this light, he stresses that the EU story has not brought many positive things for Turkey (Es1:1180-1200). Di1 (630) and SK2 (1020) mention that vis-à-vis the extension of workers' rights progress has not been achieved in hardly any of the requests. Work life in Turkey is still regulated by the laws from the 12 September fascist coup. Whilst the EU recommended and supported Turkey to eliminate the remnants of the 12 September laws and to end the military tutorship, when it came to working life, when it was about to make legal regulations in order to allow for stronger labour organisation, these issues were almost never included in the agenda. This is also related to the issue that the EU is a capitalist project, with countries integrated into this system according to the needs of the capital. The rights and interests of the workers are in the background.

Furthermore, in the leftist discourse, the common referential and argumentation strategy is to equalize the EU with the IMF, the World Bank and the USA as can be observed in the following excerpts:

Purely politically, Europe is not the cradle of democracy or so. As you have mentioned, it accommodates with the NATO, the IMF, the World Bank; its present economic control has serious anti-democratic, anti-freedom trends in itself. (Bf1:1338- 1340)

There is a regime, an economic regime, which all these, the USA, the EU, the World Bank, the IMF try to impose on the world. We think that this is the real target in transforming Turkey to include it to the system. I think that this is a domination which from the sight of all these countries boils down to export the neo-liberal production relation called the new face of capitalism. When this is once accepted a truth, we do not need to discuss other details. (Es:1230-1240)

In the first excerpt above, Bf1 argues that Europe is not the cradle of democracy and sees it similar to the capitalist institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank. This is a very common argumentation strategy that uses the topos of regime or system to disregard the differences among these institutions and to construct them as a part of a system. The excerpt above is an important case in which discussions on capitalist Europe lead to the interdiscursivity with Marxist and neo-Marxist thinkers. According to labour union leader Sk2 (1340-1350), the IMF

founded the World Bank in order to economically safeguard the rights and interests of the imperialist bloc around the USA and particularly to integrate Third World countries into this process. Accordingly, particularly after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, NATO has tried to be integrated into this system with military operations. Therefore, the EU is not an organization that is independent from this. Sk2 stresses that the AKP has become a partner of the policies implemented by the imperialist block around the USA, particularly with the intensification of the crisis experienced by capitalism.

There are no differences between these two with respect to this foreign policy dimension. When we look at the close past, we will see that nearly the whole EU was together with the USA as a party of the intervention to Iraq. It was nearly the same situation regarding the policy against Syria, there is no difference between the politics of the EU and the USA with respect to Iran. (Sk2:930-935)

In this sense, Sk2 mentions that the EU supports the politics of the USA fully. According to him, it can be accepted that there is a difference regarding the respective democracy cultures, but there is, according to their perception, no difference between the imperialism of the USA and the imperialism of the EU in terms of the politics implemented against countries like Turkey.

The leftist civil society leaders, T2 and Di1, add to the discussion in arguing that the EU can function at the disadvantage of the weak states, as was the case in Greece:

Particularly, as it has been seen during crisis periods, in a form, in which countries like Germany, France and England have imposed their own decisions to the other countries. Thus the free decisions of countries are made invalid within the course of the process as it was the case in the sample of Greece. (T2:117-123)

The EU have initiated a coup without respecting the will of the Greek people with assignment from outside. (Di1:677-680)

As can be observed in the excerpts above, the leftist leaders argue that the policy of the EU against Greece was unjust and that the case of Greece gave many lessons to countries such as Turkey. Choosing the verb “impose” can be interpreted as the discursive strategy of mitigation whereby the speaker “mitigates the illocutionary force” of a negative utterance (Reisigl and Wodak 2001:81). In an interdiscursive fashion to European communists, the EU-Greece relations are interpreted in a way where the EU’s attitude towards Greece is unjust. In a similar vein, Sk2 thinks that the policy of the EU against Greece is unfair. He thinks that the policy of the EU, particularly of the bloc around Germany, against Greece is a complete imperialist, subjugating policy:

When one pays attention on it, it is enforced based on primarily the limitation of the existing rights of the population, the worker in order for that the balance, economic balance in Greece can be restored again. There were regulation for serious cut offs from the wages, people are compulsory retired and are being still so. If one looks at the larger image, there is no difference. Anywhere in the world, at any time the case, the argument of the world domination of capital block is at overcoming crisis cutting primarily the rights of the workers, limiting the existing, gained, used rights of the workers. (Sk2:1602-1609)

As can be observed in the following, this logic also tried to implement similar applications in Greece. What is most striking at this point for the leftist respondents is that then the Greek people did not surrender to the process. For example, K1 mentions that Greece has shown great resistance in holding firm to their own traditions and cultural roots against the subjugation politics of the EU. The meaningful thing in the issue for K1 is this fact (Sk2:1435-1445). Da1 mentions that the economic crisis diminished the image of the EU. When she looks at the EU from Turkey, she sees the following:

Germany has established its authority there, countries like Greece and Spain, though they have made important changes to their economy, that every day it is to be seen on TV how retired people collect this or that from wastes or that the one or the other happens, begun to fade the enthusiasm in the eyes of the people. (Da1:1367-70)

With a rather pessimistic attitude, Es1 adds to the discussion in stating that the EU cannot develop to desired direction in the following excerpt:

But as far as we can see there is not a strong class consciousness among the workers in these countries, due to the high national income based on the imperialist grounds of Europe in the world. Accordingly, to live in a developed country has its advantages in the economic sense. And in this view their class problems are not that much in the foreground as a result of these advantages. It seems to be difficult that the EU might be transformed to the favour of the workers. (Es1:403-409)

However, Es1 thinks that the reactions of the workers in Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal against the crisis in these countries are very important. He argues that with the crisis, the workers in Europe started to remember the presence of classes again, which they had abandoned a long time ago, which is a very pleasant development. Nevertheless, due to the severe crisis in Greece, to think that this could transform the EU does not seem to be politically realistic (Es1:1200-1216).

In a similar vein, Sk2 predicates the EU as a capitalist project. He assesses it as a structure that was initiated with the steel union, established by the European upper class, particularly in France and Germany, in order protect the capital and to ensure that it remains

strong and competitive primarily against the bloc around America and the Asian bloc around China and Japan. This argumentation strategy is observed in the following excerpt:

To build an economic block in Europe was the main aim, and took its late shape with the political integration. The EU is a structure, whereby the requests and expectations of people, freedom requests of ethnic groups in underdeveloped countries are kept in the background in general. Nevertheless, the project is though presented such. (Sk2:1400-1410)

This argumentative strategy suggests a discrepancy between real world practices of the EU and its rhetoric presented as its basic philosophy.

Sk2 adds the Customs Union Agreement to the discussion. Since 1995 Turkey has undersigned to the most important part of capitalist European project, the Customs Union Agreement. According to him, this has made Turkey from the perspective of the capitalists somehow a member of the EU by transforming it into a market. Today Turkey is integrated into the process pursuant to the expectations of the capitalists. Therefore, he concludes that the discussion about whether Turkey should become a member or not is ultimately not a historical importance for them (Sk2:1410- 1415).

An Alevi civil society leader expresses criticism of the Customs Union and a serious expression regarding the exploitation rhetoric of the EU in the following excerpt:

The first is that the EU will exploit you until the end and accept you then. Everything happened as wanted by the EU, the Customs Union is achieved, and the market is secured. Why should it now undertake the burden of this population? It has cheated against Turkey everywhere it could, thanks to Tansu Çiller. And then, this woman comes to Turkey and shouts on TV “We are a full member of the EU.” I experienced the greatest shame, the greatest anger of my life that time. (Af2:817-822)

Af2 argues that Turkey is already in the EU economically, as the majority of imports came from EU, but it cannot sell anything. Af2 (822-831) mentions this in the following: “I mean, we sell them spare parts, but if this will be accepted or not depends on Germany. We here are workers, their temporary workers. For Europe, everything is fine, why should it accept us, what shall it do with us”. He thinks that the EU has a double moral standard, meaning not only anti-imperialist worldview but also double standard resolutions in the EU plays a vital role in the Euroscepticism.

The leftist discourse combines the democracy culture and class struggles in Europe. One leader mentions that an important detail is the centuries-long class warfare in continental Europe that led to the existing democracy culture on the basis of deep roots. The obtainment of granted or existing rights is the result of the struggle of the working class. It cannot be overlooked that today these rights are protected and have been extended. This is an

argumentation strategy that must be underlined as a positive attitude towards the EU in the leftist discourse in general (Sk2:1415-1435). Additionally, Es1 (576-600) argues that the guarantee of democratic rights for Turkey is not only dependent on joining the EU, and that these should be seen as values that the citizens of the country deserve. For him, it is possible for Turkey to remain out of the EU. He argues that the negotiations did not bring democracy to Turkey. According to Es1 (610-614), the negotiations have carried out, but democracy has contracted in Turkey: prisons are 110% more full, anyone who objects or speaks out – including journalists and writers – is imprisoned:

Democratisation it is not about whether we are accepted to the European Union or not, but about how the level of the basic rights in our society will be, and that this actually is related with our fight and has nothing to do with whether we get an EU member or not. (Es1:603-606)

Moreover, leftist CSO leaders stress the importance of internal dynamics and show distrust in the EU because of its neoliberal policies. Leftist Euroscepticism emphasises that change made through internal and local dynamics rather than through external influences results in real change. According to leftist civil society discourse, the EU is a project that is based on the trends of the world system and that a country alone cannot achieve modernisation and its development through it as these are issues that can be realised with domestic dynamics, and the domestic dynamics in Turkey are not sufficiently mature:

There is increasing number of people, for whom the membership of Turkey to the EU is not a fate for Turkey and that Turkey overcomes the social struggle with its own social dynamics. (Tc1:87-90)

The economic development is to be achieved through domestic dynamics and neither a hostility nor and admiration against the EU is necessary. (I1:38-43)

Nevertheless, there are more optimistic leftist labour union leaders. A leftist civil society leader argues that the EU membership would be beneficial for the enhancement of social and labour rights and stresses that the EU accession process could be used as a tool for the improvement of the social rights and labour rights because these rights are much better established and secured in the EU (Di1:640-644). For Tu1, the EU has its own standards regarding working life in other countries and expectations from the EU regarding working life are not fulfilled because of the AKP. He states that although they had told them that this issue had been sent to the ILO, they obtained no reaction against the behaviour of a government that is not fulfilling the European social preconditions (Tu1:976-983).

In terms of health policy, a leftist civil society leader argues that impossible to talk about a EU health policy:

Developed EU countries have different health policies, as the northern European countries their social health policy or England, central European countries have a market economy that nearly all these countries have begun to resemble themselves with the marketisation of the system, liberal, pro-privatisation programmes. According to T1, Turkey integrates itself by setting over to the insurance model, or the family physician system, or the privatisation of hospitals and public-private associate enterprises with regard to the purchase of health services much faster than in other fields. (Iba1:171-180)

Moreover, a human rights organisation leader argues that the human rights organisations in the EU under pressure:

Many of them are being closed. Their expectations are not fulfilled, either. These are countries that constitute the union, and they mean that the organizations should care themselves to survive, they are not supported by the governments. We are giving the EU much money for that something results from there. Many of the organizations in the EU are dissolved. The budgets have been shrunken. This is the case in Germany, in Denmark, in Sweden. The attitude of the governments, of the EU is bad. It is treated so as if this weren't that important. (Tih1:1380-1387).

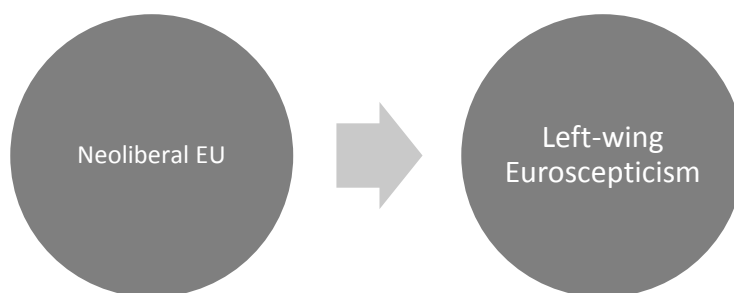
To sum up, leftist CSO leaders base their Eurosceptic arguments mainly on ideological grounds rather than strategic factors. Nevertheless, in their argumentations they regard the EU as a heterogonous entity that is open to dialectical change.

### ***Conclusion***

Yıldırım et al. (2008) discovered that in the domain of Turkish labour confederations “it is the ideological configurations, the nature of their relations with the state and the EU’s attitudes to Turkish membership that largely influence the Turkish peak organizations’ approach to the EU” (362). The section supported this argument to a great extent by showing that the main labour confederations leaders use the argumentation strategy of the neoliberal EU. Compared to business organisations, a large part of the trades unions have a cautious approach towards European integration. Notwithstanding the fact that conservative trade union leaders show a tendency towards Eurocynicism, other leftist CSO leaders draw on their ideological tendencies in evaluating the EU and the European integration process, and view the EU a locus of free trade ideology. However, leftist trade union leaders stress that they tend to evaluate it positively when they observe an advancement of the labour rights, which was not the case until now in Turkey. Accordingly, trades unions and social rights have usually been seen as “the step child of the EU integration process” (Gulmez 2008:4). Generally, the leftist leaders do not perceive the EU process strategically or as a political opportunity structure to gain influence

(see Börzel and Risse 2003:63), but predominately more ideologically, as the spread of neoliberal free market policies that create an anti-labour environment (compare Hyman 2001). The ways in which each leader imagines and conceptualises Europe does not seem to play a role in their perception of the EU. Leftist leaders are more likely to support European integration if they believe and see that it will result through an ideological change in more benefits for labour than those available at the national level. Generally, the discourse includes criticisms regarding the negative economic results of the Customs Union Agreement and that it was unrealistic to expect the EU to improve labour rights and union freedom during the accession process. Leftist CSO leaders argue that the EU in itself is an organisation within a capitalist system, but, at the same time, they mainly accept that the social welfare state, democracy and rule of law are created by struggles of labour and constitute the main pillars of the EU. However, the accession process showed that the EU has become less and less attentive to social rights. Accordingly, they want to have close relations with European labour to change the direction of the EU. Figure 8 shows the argumentative strategy in this chapter in simple terms:

**Figure 8: Left-wing Euroscepticism**





## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CLASSIFICATION OF THE DISCOURSES**

In this chapter, I shall classify the discourses of the CSOs according to the model of Kopecky and Mudde (2002) to their respective positions. In doing so, I will make use of the analysis of the interviews and surveys I conducted at the end of the interviews with the CSO leaders and aim to increase the internal validity of the results. At this level, I will map the particular lenses I found in discourses based on political, utilitarian, cultural considerations, general attitudes towards Europe, domestic power struggles, the attitude of the EU towards Turkey, or context-based factors specific to actors' field of interest in a narrow and broader sense.<sup>125</sup>

The two-dimensional conceptualisation of positions on European integration in general and of the EU in particular is helpful to distinguish the ideological and strategic differentiations for explaining Euroscepticism. This conceptual scheme enables one to differentiate opposition to Europe in general and Euroscepticism in particular. However, the criteria for classification in a certain category should be modified in Turkish case because general attitudes towards Europe also play a major role. It is not enough to accept a certain degree of pooling of sovereignty towards organs of the EU in both economic and political terms, to be labelled as Europhile. As Kopecky and Mudde state in the following:

We believe that our conceptual scheme offers a good analytical tool for understanding the goals and strategies of political elites opposing Europe...We do not define Euroscepticism in essentialist and rigid terms. Rather, we believe that Euroscepticism can take different forms and shapes, following from different visions of European integration and different interpretation of the EU. (Kopecky and Mudde 2002:304)

In order to increase internal validity I designed a questionnaire. The survey aimed at assessing the the leaders' attitudes towards major issues regarding European integration such as perceptions of Europe and the West, the Sevres and Tanzimat syndromes, the current situation of civil society in Turkey and Turkish politics. The sample survey comprised of 23 leaders. The survey questionnaire was translated into Turkish and handed out or read after the interviews to the civil society leaders. From the interview texts, we have seen from which contexts Euroscepticism emanates, and how civil society leaders, who are the principle decision-makers due to their key positions in CSOs, speak about European integration and Europe. Argumentation strategies such as Eurocynicism, the strategic use of the EU by the AKP,

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<sup>125</sup> The most used framework, Taggart and Szczerbiak's hard-soft model, is fraught with problems because the very inclusiveness that has made it so popular for others obscures many other aspects of interest in the research.

Occidentalism and the neoliberal EU from an ideological viewpoint are central discursive strategies in the political debate around which Euroscepticism is constructed and represented. Hence, the thesis demonstrates that civil society leaders' argumentations are impacted by domestic power struggles, their general perceptions of the West, their ideological backgrounds and their positioning towards the AKP. Until now, we have seen the main Eurosceptic argumentation strategies and an approximate classification of different discourses of Kemalist secularist, Islamic, conservative, centre-left social democrat, liberal, Kurdish and Alevi CSOs. So far, we have seen that Islamic and conservative CSO leader transform their inconfidence towards the EU to a discourse of Eurocynicism and Kemalist and centre-left social democrat Alevis CSO leaders mainly base their discourses on the AKP's misuse of the EU integration process, whereas socialist trade unions, Kurds and Alevis base their arguments on an ideological perspective by labelling the EU as neoliberal and implying the neoliberal solidarity between the AKP and the EU. In Table 9, I have established coding guidelines for the different categories according to the model of Kopecky and Mudde that distinguishes between attitudes towards European integration and the EU. I checked whether there are conflicts between statements during the interviews and survey results to increase the internal validity of the research.

**Table 9: Coding Guidelines** (own considerations based on the typology of Kopecky and Mudde (2002))

Variable	Category	Definition	Example	Coding Rule
	Euroenthusiasts (Europhile Optimists)	Civil society leaders supporting European integration and its concrete practice	"We have always supported the EU membership of Turkey."	Interview:  In the interviews support for the European integration and the requirements of the EU.  Survey indicators:  1)EU dimension:  Support for EU membership. Readiness to share sovereignty with EU institutions  2)European integration dimension: no Tanzimat/ Sevres syndromes

Type of Euroscepticism	Eurosceptics (Europhile Pessimists)	Civil society leaders supporting European integration but are critical of its concrete practice.	“In the case... that Turkey should be given a special status is made the official opinion of the EU, then our existing commitments, led by the Customs Union, are revised and necessary measures will be taken according to the benefits of our state determinedly.”	<p>In the interviews support European integration, criticism of the requirements of the EU in certain subjects in the Turkish context. Evaluation of the EU as a deviation from the basic ideas of European integration. No conflict between statements during interviews and the surveys. The statements are not against the basic ideas of European integration.</p> <p>Survey Indicators:</p> <p>1) EU dimension: Negative discrimination: Criticism of the EU because of its attitude towards Turkey</p> <p>2) European Integration Dimension:</p> <p>No Sevres/Tanzimat syndromes</p> <p>No negative impact on moral values and national sovereignty.</p>
	Europragmatists (Europhobe Optimists)	Civil society leaders not supportive of the broad project of European integration, but support its concrete practice because of strategic calculations.	“We should enter the EU because of the economic gains, but we should beware of cultural degeneration in Europe.”	<p>Interviews:</p> <p>Statements do not support the basic ideas of European integration. In the statements support to the EU because of utilitarian calculations.</p> <p>Survey indicators:</p> <p>1)EU dimension: Support for the EU membership because of domestic calculations</p> <p>2)European integration dimension:</p> <p>No Sevres/Tanzimat Syndromes</p> <p>.Existence Value-based/Cultural Euroscepticism</p>
	Eurorejects (Europhobe Pessimists)	Civil society leaders rejecting European integration and its concrete practice.	"The true intention of the EU has come to light. These claims of the EU parallel the political demands of the separatist terrorist organization. In this framework, the death penalty including acts of terror was abolished."	<p>Interviews:</p> <p>Statements rejecting European integration and the EU. Criticism expressed in statements towards the basic ideas of European integration and EU requirements.</p> <p>Survey indicators: 1) EU dimension: Denial of EU membership 2) European integration dimension : Existence of Tanzimat/ Sevres Syndromes</p>

In the interview texts and surveys, I found no rejection of pooling sovereignty to the EU organs or separatism anxiety based on the damage of the EU to national unity. The Sevres and Tanzimat syndromes, which would lead to a Euroreject attitude are also not observable.<sup>126</sup> In civil society leaders' discourses, the reforms are not regarded as undermining national sovereignty or leading to the break-up of the Turkish state, which would be a sign of the Sevres Syndrome by rejecting the supranational character of the EU. On the whole, regardless of their positive and negative opinions concerning European integration, few interviewees questioned the overall process. Most informants are aware of the contradictions that integration involves, the competing interests and the difficulty in implementing common criteria.

As can be observed in the distribution below, the CSOs are mainly Europragmatist or Eurosceptic. This classification is in harmony with their argumentation strategies: Pro-AKP CSOs are Europragmatic and support the EU because of domestic calculations, whereas the anti-AKP CSOs tend to hold a Eurosceptical position. Pro-AKP CSO leaders regard domestic changes mostly related to the extent to which the EU accession process helps the AKP gain or hold power and push its political agenda. Europragmatist CSOs accept that they are not supportive of the broad project of European integration, but nevertheless are positive about the current EU insofar as it serves their interests in the domestic political arena. The liberal KADER and TISK are the only Euroenthusiast discourses in this study.

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<sup>126</sup> The two discursive patterns of elite-level Euroscepticism in Turkey, namely the Sevres and Tanzimat syndromes (Yılmaz 2010), are based on historical considerations and serve as tools for understanding the Eurorejectionist attitudes of CSO leaders to Turkey's European integration. Yılmaz argues that modern Turkish nationalism is based on these two discursive patterns, which gained ground in society through different state institutions and through the education system, press and literature. Both syndromes are results of the invasion of Turkey by the Western powers in the First World War and distrust towards the West. The Tanzimat syndrome designates potential enemies in the domestic arena as the Christian minority, while the Sevres syndrome aims to hinder the Western influence on foreign policy.

**Table 10: Classification of CSOs According to the Fourfold Model**

<p><b>EUROENTHUSIASTS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• KADER</li> <li>• TISK</li> </ul>	<p><b>EUROPRACTICISTS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DFD</li> <li>• ÖZGÜR-DER</li> <li>• MAZLUM-DER</li> <li>• AK-DER</li> <li>• FEDERATION OF ROMAN ASSOCIATIONS</li> <li>• MEMUR-SEN</li> <li>• HAK-IS</li> <li>• GYV</li> </ul>
<p><b>EUROSCEPTICS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• IHD</li> <li>• TMOBB CMO</li> <li>• TTB</li> <li>• SODEV</li> <li>• CYDD</li> <li>• DISK</li> <li>• AVF</li> <li>• IBB</li> <li>• TURK-IS</li> <li>• ERENLER</li> <li>• EGITIM-SEN</li> <li>• ABF</li> <li>• KESK</li> <li>• KAMU-SEN</li> <li>• TIHV</li> <li>• ADD</li> <li>• JEWISH COMMUNITY</li> <li>• DISA</li> <li>• HDV</li> </ul>	<p><b>EUROREJECTS<sup>127</sup></b></p> <p>-----</p>

<sup>127</sup> As I stated before, I was unable to interview far right CSO leaders despite many attempts at contact. This is a clear sign that on the far right, European integration is rejected and for these CSOs, political and cultural integration constitutes a threat to national traditions and to sovereignty. Until now, Euroscepticism research has shown that that it follows that they justify their opposing positions with nationalistic frames as well as the Tanzimat and Sevres Syndromes.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **CONCLUSION**

The study of Euroscepticism so far has included mainly two specific areas: party-based Euroscepticism and public Euroscepticism. What this thesis aimed to articulate is the need to focus on civil society in addition to national party systems and public opinion, as non-party actors have an important function in shaping the general EU discourse (Fitzgibbon 2013:105). Moreover, analysis of civil-society-based Euroscepticism, of the way it develops and the content of the grievances it addresses to European integration and the EU are vital to a sound diagnosis of the crisis of confidence faced by the EU. In Turkey, as well civil-society based argumentative strategies on the EU are also operative and influential. The thesis examined the construction of Eurosceptic discourses in the civil society discourse, focussing on Turkey's possible membership of the EU, on-going struggles between different political camps in Turkey and the general Western discourse. Notwithstanding the fact that the CSOs are not homogenous entities and have different opinions with regard to Europe, the leadership is considered to be crucial and the most important locus where discursive strategies are determined. Based on the theoretical assumptions of the Euroscepticism research, Occidentalism literature and Gramscian approach to civil society as well as on the referential/nomination, argumentation and predication strategies, and the CDA's perspectivation and migration strategies, it has been found that there are multiple Eurosceptical argumentation strategies in the discourses varying according to ideological background and pro-AKP and anti-AKP positioning within the scope of the study. Euroscepticism may take several forms and varieties and thus also differ between the European countries. Hence, this thesis demonstrates that there is a need for a more comprehensive understanding of the concept of Euroscepticism.

The analysis shows that the first referential/nominal strategy, namely strategies by means of which speakers refer to certain concepts, is the interchangeable use of the terms Europe, EU and West. Conservative and Islamic respondents use the EU, Europe and the West interchangeably and equate the meanings in their discourses, which stresses the cultural dimension of Europe according to Hülse (2006). The distinction between Europe and the EU is blurred – not only were the EU and Europe conflated as a geographical or historical entity, but a more abstract category of civilisation was used as a self-definition or description of the EU. Hence, this is a first sign that Islamic-conservative actors nominate the EU discursively as a cultural-civilisational structure rather than as being a supranational political structure. In the discourse of the Kemalist, Alevi, left-wing and social democratic leaders, those three terms are most often clearly separated and not used synonymously.

The second important referential/nominal strategy, especially in the left, social democratic, Alevi and Kemalist civil society leaders' discourses, is to link the EU and the AKP. Leftist leaders in particular see the AKP and the EU as representatives of neoliberal values and explain the support of the EU for the AKP therein. Accordingly, they are seen as operating together according to mechanisms of the capitalist system. In addition, leftist leaders use the referential strategy of equating the EU with major capitalist institutions such as the IMF or World Bank. The social democrat and Kemalist leaders refer to the EU as an opponent of Kemalism and as a proponent of the AKP, because of the EU's long support for the Turkish government party.

The third important referential/nomination strategy is that Europe is constructed in all discursive sites as a heterogeneous entity comprised of different groups. Despite of the fact that the conservatives and Islamic leaders equate Europe and the EU, they do not construct the EU as a homogenous entity, but rather differentiate between different groups. Leftist CSO leaders differentiate especially left-wing groups in the EU. In the thesis, when expressing their scepticism towards Europe, most of the respondents were aware of the political, cultural and institutional differences within the EU. Hence, the awareness of the non-homogeneity of the EU and Europe made the speeches more sophisticated and differentiated, leading to a more flexible and adaptable approach towards Europe and the EU.

The fourth referential strategy refers to the in-group homogeneity in terms of ideology and religion, but not in terms of a Turk/European dichotomy. Civil society leaders use the first-person plural "We" not through a national labelling such as "We Turks", but in terms of in-group ideological and religious homogeneity such as "We Muslims", "We Alevis", "We social democrats". It is obvious that the selective use of the first-person plural pronoun "We" provides an opportunity for civil society leaders to perspectivise their discourse. In this common strategy of perspectivation, the EU is constructed as an actor approaching their groups with double standards and praised as long as the EU supports the rights of their groups.

The fifth referential strategy that can be observed mainly among conservative and Islamist civil society leaders is the historical lexicalisation operative in the construction of Euroscepticism. There are a series of generalisations relating to the Ottomans that are displayed in these discourses. This helps the conservative and Islamic civil society leaders to transfer the positivity from Ottoman Empire and implement the current politics of the AKP as continuing that legacy. They strategically replace Turkey with Ottoman Empire in a rhetorical move that contributes to a construction of Eurocynicism.

Predication strategies, namely the assignment of speakers' evaluative attributes to social actors, can be observed in many instances. While social democrats, Kemalists and left-wing groups predicate the EU through the lenses of domestic politics, conservative and Islamic leaders tend to use the predication strategy of positive self-presentation based on the Ottoman past – national self-glorification. National self-glorification gives positive references to Ottoman myths, Ottoman culture and Turkey's ambitions to be a regional power, wherein a strong interdiscursivity with the AKP is observable. Another important predication strategy observed among all the discursive spheres is the negative predication of Europe's colonial past. A topos that is particularly strong in the negative predication strategies is the contention that the EU only considers its interests. Nevertheless, Europe has been mainly seen in a dual perspective. In describing Europe, the speakers make use of positive references such as "democratic" or "liberal" and negative value-laden adjectives like "colonial" or "full of paradoxes" "locus of fascism" in referring to the history of Europe. Hence, respondents overwhelmingly employ predication/referential strategies that persistently construct Europe as on one hand the locus of modernity, rationality and democracy and on the other the locus of dominance and colonialism.

The main focus of the thesis, the argumentation strategies, can be analysed in four groups:

1. Occidentalism as understood of a dual perception of the West and Europe,
2. Strategic use of the EU accession process and Euroscepticism through domestic lenses,
3. Eurocynicism, and
4. The neoliberal EU.

In these four domains, this study has also demonstrated the importance of the contextual background of the Turkish discourse on the EU. At this level, it has been observed that domestic political stakes, recent transformations and crises in Turkish politics and society were echoed in the discourse of Turkey's EU accession. Accordingly, I have tried to thoroughly analyse these elements as contextual background. Moreover, it is one of the main empirical claims of this study to have outlined how the hegemonic struggles going on in Turkey affect the perceptions of the EU and Europe.

Firstly, the analysis of Occidentalism has yielded most revelatory results regarding respondents' views on Europe and the West. This section illustrated how the West and Europe are perceived among respondents, and at which discursive nodal points their argumentation strategies differ. It suggests that the two-sided view of the West and Europe dominates the discourse among all discursive settings. However, in the Islamic discourse, there are tendencies



towards a more essentialist view based on religious and cultural differences, converging into value-based and cultural Euroscepticism. The analysis also identifies two main representations of the West through which the CSO leaders construct a discursive space. The first is the Europe as the locus of modernity, human rights, liberal values and Enlightenment-based democracy. The second representation puts forward of the exploitative and colonialist Europe. Hence, images of Europe exist on a continuum, from colonialist or fascist at one end to the locus of democracy and freedom at the other. Accordingly, a major finding of this chapter is that images and representations of the West and Europe are quite fluid in nature, with each ideological group having its own set of positive and negative images and representations that underwent change in line with conflicting interests. Therefore, Europe has a dual image in Turkey: alongside negative images more positive images and representations are also strongly imprinted in the Turkish imagination. The analysis showed that there is not an observable direct negative effect on the European integration process in Turkey that stems from general attitudes towards the West and from historical fear. The exception is that Islamic and conservative respondents partially show a tendency toward cultural and value-based Euroscepticism (Leconte 2010). The analysis also indicates that there is a strong interdiscursivity among the CSO leaders in terms of their focus on the theory of Orientalism by Edward Said. Civil society leaders mainly argue that Western political and economic authorities define the rest of the world as the “Other”. We can see an interdiscursivity between Islamic/conservative and other discourses in terms of the Orientalism and colonialism debates. In order to enforce their arguments of exploitation and colonialism of the West, the discourse participants use the intensification strategy of Said’s Orientalism. Moreover, contrary to the interdiscursivity and intertextuality with Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism, Huntington’s thesis of the clash of civilisations is rejected and harshly condemned harshly, and the privileged position of the West in history of arts, cultures and sciences by marginalising the East is also rejected. Hence, there is a strong opposition of the CSO leaders to culturalist, Eurocentric arguments against the East resting on a conception of culture as an essentialising and totalising entity in justifying the superiority of the Western culture and the exclusion of Turkey from the EU.

The second argumentative strategy focusses on representations of the EU through the lenses of Turkish domestic politics and power struggles between different camps. The analysis shows that the second argumentative strategy for Euroscepticism in civil society discourse is the conviction on the part of anti-AKP groups of the AKP’s misuse of the EU integration process. This section explored the perceived EU support for the AKP despite internal democracy deficits in Turkey and the perceived instrumentalisation of the EU by the AKP. That

the AKP uses the EU accession process strategically causes a transfer of the criticism to the EU by an important group of domestic actors who are critical of the AKP's policies and perceive Turkish political system to be authoritarian. There is a strong interdiscursivity among social democratic, nationalist, leftist, liberal and Alevi CSO leaders and other opposition groups regarding the misuse of the EU integration process of the AKP. I have proposed a concept in the context of Turkey's EU membership process, namely the perceived misuse of the EU integration process by the government party and accordingly the Euroscepticism shown by critical groups towards the EU due to its long-time support for the AKP. Accordingly, from the interview texts it can clearly be seen that many of the CSO leaders believe the EU is off the agenda in Turkish politics. This fact is explained with factors leading to decline of trust to the EU and lack of confidence. Moreover, the decreasing importance of the EU in Turkish politics and society is explained largely by the ineffectiveness of the EU, namely the weak reaction to the arrests of journalists and deputies and the AKP's control of the media and the justice system.

If we look to the statements of conservative and Islamic groups in the civil society, we can observe that the strategic use of the EU process is largely justified. The attitude of Islamic and conservatives towards the EU integration process has been instrumental and focussed on using it as an instrument for domestic change in favour of their interests. The section sets out the multiple discursive strategies through which the misuse of the EU integration process by the AKP is realised, such as the construction of EU's support of the AKP and the topos of European integration. Hegemony, as understood "a ruling practice which aims at forming a collective will and a particular understanding of the world which would result in acquiring the consent of the ruled" (Bobbio 1979:40), operates in Turkish civil society, and this coercive and consent-based influence in Gramsci's terms becomes a strong source of Euroscepticism in the opposition discourses. The AKP's increasing tendency to acquire the intellectual, political and cultural leadership and the disregard of the EU leads to a strong Euroscepticism. Extensive intervention into civil society as has been theorised by Gramsci is a real tendency in Turkey that is continuing even more strongly and is an important source of Euroscepticism.

However, when considering the complete representations of social democrats as a whole, it is worth noting that they have a discourse reflecting a soft Euroscepticism rather than a hard one. Hard Euroscepticism, in principle, totally goes against the historical cause of Turkish social democrats. They do not question the principle of European integration or the idea of joining the EU; but they are mainly concerned with the way the AKP government has handled the membership process. In accordance with Taggart and Szczerbiak's (2008)

definition of soft Euroscepticism, they show resentment towards the EU and the AKP.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, in this part, the transformation of the Islamic movement in Turkey can also be observed in the discourses of the CSO leaders. The Islamic movement has increasingly been positive towards the EU in recent years, as they have understood this will change the internal political structure that they found restrictive and repressive. Notwithstanding the fact that Islamic conceptualisations of Europe have not changed to a great extent, their attitude towards the EU has. They have re-evaluated EU membership and put their anti-European attitude into the background. Hence, there is a Europragmatism observable, but no Eurorejectionism according to the classification of Kopecky and Mudde (2002).

As Radaelli and Exadaktylos (2009) point out, I took a closer look at the political sphere. The deep fragmentation in civil society along the lines of ethnic, religious, cultural and political differences has led to a lack of tolerance and respect to others. The deepest conflict potentials between Kemalists and Islamists have been reflected in civil society too as is explained in the following:

Whichever groups becomes stronger and gains a majority, stifles, circumscribes, or at the very least ignores the other groups. Islamists, for instance, complain about the pressure coming from the state and other Kemalist groups to proscribe their religious practices. But the reverse is also true. (Şimşek 2004:63)

Hence, in this part, I argue that the EU is not the origin of new discursive cleavages as understood a discursive translation of ethnic and political conflict, but rather the cleavages in Turkish civil society are influential in shaping attitudes toward European integration and are the origins of Euroscepticism. In Turkey, the established structure of political confrontations contributes to the discourse of Euroscepticism. This part of the thesis tried not to validate a presumed perspective, but tried to reveal the contradiction between appearance and essence. Accordingly, it strengthens the belief that one dimension of Euroscepticism might be very prevalent in a country, but over time it might disappear or shift in relevance and other dimensions will become prevailing. It aimed to reflect real-world trends to ensure external validity. Hence, in line with the critical theories, this thesis has revealed power structures and their affects on perceptions, making visible the causes that are hidden. This argumentative strategy, accordingly, refers to a European perception from the lenses political struggles and hegemonic strategies, whereas hegemony (Morton 2007:28) is a “contested, fragile and tenuous process, rather than simply a structure or edifice.” This part indicates that a proper reference to politics is necessary for Euroscepticism studies, because “Europe” exemplifies a distinctly

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<sup>128</sup> The strategic use of the EU integration process by the AKP can be a good case study for the literature of the interactions of domestic actors and the IGO, which has a very complex nature (Aspinwall and Greenwood 1998).

modern form of power politics” (Moravcsik 1998:5). How the notion of Europe is constructed at the domestic level through discourses and domestic struggles between different political frontiers may be the main drivers of European perceptions. As Radaelli and Pasquier (2007) argue, Europeanisation literature should enlarge its scope to include concepts such as “politicisations and dynamics of conflict, cleavages and the distribution of political power” (43). Mair (2007:162) argues that the literature mainly focusses on “standardises quantitative variables that can be used directly in highly abstract cross-national research... We need to know more about how Europe actually plays in national political discourse, as well as about the way in which it is conceived.” Hence, perceptions of Europe can be understood only in political arena. Anti-AKP civil society leaders claim that the government party tends to be Europhilic, despite its ideologically anti-Western attitude and scepticism toward European integration, for strategic reasons. The empirical evidence of the discourses suggest that ideological concerns in isolation are not sufficient to explain opposition or support for European integration (Taggart 1998). Contrary to the claims of the literature on party-based Euroscepticism, we must also consider strategic behaviour not only of non-mainstream parties but also of mainstream parties. Until now, research has linked the strategic dimension to non-mainstream parties because they have fewer chances under the current party competition structure (Hooghe et al. 2002:968). However, in Turkish civil society discourse the contra-AKP leaders link the strategic behaviour to mainstream government and opposition parties.

The third argumentation strategy can be labelled as Eurocynicism. The analysis has identified Eurocynicism in the discourses of the conservative and Islamic CSO leaders that constructs Turkey as progressive, economically powerful and stable and a Europe in economic crisis that needs Turkey. Ideological faultiness is discernable in these representations, as the other group of CSO leaders’ distrust towards the EU does not lead to Eurocynicism. The combination of overconfidence and Eurosceptic arguments are particularly visible in the conservative/Islamic discourse on the EU. Moreover, the discourse analysis reveals that Eurocynicism mostly has its roots on the reaction to the discriminatory and condescending rhetoric and policies of some European leaders, the double standard topos as well as Turkey’s economic success and its Ottoman past. In the Turkish case, cynicism towards the EU is characterised of an absence of trust or as negativism and disapproval. Additionally, this section shows that it includes one more element that is equally important: overconfidence. The present economic crisis in Europe and the relative economic progress in Turkey and its ambitions to be a regional power have led to a distrust of others and an extreme self-confidence in Turkey by conservative and Islamic groups. The analysis finds that Eurocynicism intensifies particularly

among those CSO leaders who support the AKP and its policies. The comments cited in this thesis demonstrate the construction of a strong duality between the pre-AKP and post-AKP periods, in order to demonstrate how Turkey became powerful in international politics and economy. The referential strategy used here is the *éclat* of Prime Minister Erdoğan in Davos. The full corpus displays a strong intertextuality with the strategic depth thesis of Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu and with the so-called neo-Ottomanism of the AKP. Moreover, Eurocynicism goes hand in hand in an illusion of control, meaning in this case the inclination to overestimate one's influence over the EU countries. The fourth argumentative strategy mainly concerns leftist CSO leaders. Notwithstanding the fact that conservative trades union leaders show a tendency towards Eurocynicism, other leftist CSO leaders draw on their ideological tendencies in evaluating the EU and the European integration process, and see the EU as a locus of the free trade ideology. However, leftist trade union leaders stress that they are inclined to evaluate it positively when they observe an advancement of the labour rights, which was not the case up until now in Turkey. Accordingly, trade unions and social rights have usually been seen as "the stepchild of the EU integration process" (Gulmez 2008:4). Generally, the leftist leaders do not perceive the EU process strategically, as a political opportunity structure to gain influence (see Börzel and Risse 2003:63), but more dominantly ideologically, as the spread of neoliberal free market policies that create an anti-labour environment (compare Hyman 2001). Leftist leaders are likely to support European integration if they believe and see that it will result in an ideological change in more benefits for labour than those available at the national level. Generally, the discourse includes criticisms of the negative economic results of the Customs Union Agreement so that it was unrealistic to expect the EU to improve labour rights and union freedoms during the accession process. Leftist CSO leaders argue that the EU itself is an organisation within a capitalist system, but, at the same time, they mainly accept that the social welfare state, democracy and rule of law were created by struggles of labour and constitute the main pillars of the EU. However, the accession process showed that the EU has become less and less attentive to social rights. Accordingly, they want to have close relations with European labour to change the direction of the EU.

Moreover the thesis demonstrates that while major differences exist between different ideological groups regarding the EU and Europe, there are topics where interdiscursivity is visible. The discursive fields of Euroscepticism form consensus and dissent and along the double standard concept the discourses communicate. Hence, the concept of double standards is invoked as a problem for all discursive spheres.

To summarise, this study analyses how civil society leaders evaluate Europe and European Integration of Turkey and gauges the consistency of their arguments. Over the course of analysis, one can see how actors' positions are justified and how the EU is perceived and what forces give rise to Euroscepticism. It is argued that the civil society leader's argumentation depends on hegemonic struggles at the national level, their ideology, whether or not they belong to the AKP and their general positions on European integration and the West. The qualitative analysis enables the categorisation of the actors and positions, moving beyond the techniques employed by existing studies that analyse the discourse of European integration. Critical discourse analysis is provided to capture the complex structure of argumentation, going beyond the locus and focus of Euroscepticism research.

*H1a: Taking the discursive shift into account, conservative and Islamic CSO leaders are Europragmatic rather than Eurorejects. However, Islamic CSOs are prone to cultural Euroscepticism because of their stress on religion and civilisational differences. Thus, the EU is constructed discursively as a cultural-civilisational entity rather than as a political structure.*

As regards H1a, conservative and Islamic CSO leaders are Europragmatic rather than Eurorejects, as withdrawal was not advocated but clearly supported for strategic reasons, as can be observed in Chapter 3. If we look at the statements of the conservative and Islamic groups in civil society, we can observe that the strategic use of the EU process is largely justified. The attitude of Islamists and conservatives towards the EU integration process has been instrumental and focussed on using it as an instrument for domestic change in the Turkish political system. These statements prove the tactical nature of support for the EU by Islamic CSO leaders and the tendency towards Europragmatism. Instead of suffering from the 28 February phase that was claimed to last thousand years, the EU's promise of a free atmosphere compared to the most recent context seems more advantageous. This thesis is also confirmed by the use of the EU, Europe and the West interchangeably by the conservative and Islamic respondents. For Hülse (2006) using the EU interchangeably with Europe stresses the importance of the cultural, rather than the political, dimension of the EU. Accordingly, this argument suggests that the Islamic-conservative actors nominate the EU discursively as a cultural-civilisational structure rather than as being a supranational political structure on the continent. In an interdiscursive fashion, Erdoğan's inclination toward cultural Euroscepticism can also be seen among conservative and Islamic CSO leaders. Some comments construct the widely discerned unchanging cultural distinctiveness between the East and the West, stressing an inherent incompatibility between Europe and Turkey in terms of religion, culture, and norms and values,

which is a strong sign of cultural Euroscepticism. Although the analysis suggests that the two-sided view of the West and Europe dominates the discourse among all discursive settings, in the Islamic discourse there are tendencies to a more essentialist view based on religious and cultural differences converging them to value-based and cultural Euroscepticism. The statement of Ernst (2007:8) regarding the pragmatic stance of Islamic parties towards the EU in recent years and modifications in the previously negative forms of Occidentalism is largely justified in the CSO leaders' discourses.

*H1b: Kemalist and social democratic civil society leaders oppose ideas underlying European integration and the EU mainly on the basis of political Euroscepticism because of the fear of loss of sovereignty and stress on national identity. In other words, since their political stance is grounded on a strong overlap between the state and nation, European integration is perceived as a challenge to the state and nation.*

With regards to H1b, the hypothesis has not been confirmed. Both the referential/nominal and argumentative strategies and survey results prove that the belief on the strategic use of the AKP is the dominant source of Euroscepticism. Kemalist and social democrat CSO leaders show weak signs of political Euroscepticism, but strong signs of Euroscepticism derived from the instrumentalisation of the EU by the AKP to consolidate its power and the EU's long-time support for the government party. The EU is believed to show weak reactions to anti-democratic developments such as the arrests of journalists or the control of the media or justice system. Hence, the ineffectiveness of the EU and the topos of the misuse of the European integration are all quite influential in shaping the Euroscepticism of anti-AKP groups. Hegemony, understood as "a ruling practice which aims at forming a collective will and a particular understanding of the world which would result in acquiring the consent of the ruled" (Bobbio 1979:40), operates in Turkish civil society and the tendency of the AKP to acquire the intellectual, political and cultural leadership and the disregard of the EU of authoritarian tendencies in Turkey becomes a strong source of Euroscepticism in the opposition discourses.

*H1c: Civil-society-based Euroscepticism would confirm the literature suggesting that the presence of Euroscepticism to be found the further from the centre of a left-right party dimension (Hooghe et al. 2002). The radical left is Eurorejectionist due to their opposition to the centrality of neo-liberal policies in European integration. There appear to be no*

*complications in assuming that Eurosceptic CSOs will be drawn from the radical left and radical right in society and not from the mainstream.*

For H1c, Euroscepticism drawn from the radical left and radical right in civil society, there is less corroboration with the Euroscepticism literature. This is despite the fact that the leftist CSO leaders regard Europe as a transformative and colonial power (also shared by Islamic and conservative respondents) and view neoliberal Europe as the diluter of labour rights and enabler of privatisation in co-operation with the AKP. These two discourses have been closely interconnected and dominant in the analysed data of the leftist civil society leaders. Europe is commonly represented among the leftist civil society leaders as a capitalist project that transforms the accession countries according to neoliberal policies. What is most striking is that the argumentation strategy of the leftist discourse points out to the harmony of AKP and neoliberal EU policies. As is typical of the leftist discourse on the EU in Turkey, the EU is evaluated not as a completed project, nor as a frozen and finally completed project. This argumentation strategy does not contain the argumentative fallacy in regarding the EU as static and does not essentialise it, indicating that the struggle for a just Europe continues. Generally, the leftist discourse condemns that the double standard against labour. They underline the wish that the EU would become a peace project, not an imperialist centre. Left-wing civil society leaders do not essentialise the EU and accept its dynamic nature, but they criticise the present situation of the EU. To sum up, leftist CSO leaders base their Eurosceptic arguments mainly on ideological grounds rather than strategic factors. Nevertheless, in their argumentations they regard the EU as a heterogenous entity that is open to dialectical change. Hence, The radical left is not Eurorejectionist but Eurosceptical due to their opposition to the centrality of neoliberal policies in European integration. It is not possible to assume that Eurosceptic CSOs will be drawn from the radical left and radical right in society and not from the mainstream, because the demarcation line of Euroscepticism is rather contra-AKP pro-AKP rather than right/left. Moreover, this thesis demonstrates that CSOs that support the governing party are less likely to be Eurosceptical and more likely to be Europragmatic. Because the AKP controls the domestic policy agenda and is the central actor in the negotiations with the EU, it is able to shape policy outcomes in its preferred direction. Hence, CSOs who are close to the AKP are less likely to be Eurosceptical than CSOs close to the opposition parties. This finding confirms the hypothesis of Sitter (2001) and Hix (2007:137). Anderson's (1998) argument about the role of domestic institutions in channeling attitudes towards the EU also fits the Turkish case in civil society. Rohrschneider's (2002) perspective that if citizens trust their domestic institutions, they are also



likely to trust EU institutions, fits the case in Turkish civil society. Anti-AKP CSOs do not trust what the AKP is doing at the EU level.

In these hypotheses, I have aimed to explore whether the existing conceptual frameworks for analysing Euroscepticism developed from studies of its party-based variant can be applied to civil society in Turkey. There is a clear contradiction with the literature on party-based Euroscepticism. This dissertation makes the case that in order to understand non-party-based Euroscepticism other important factors must be taken into consideration such as the attitude towards the government party and other context factors. Hence, we need to know more about how Europe actually play in national political discourse, as well as about the way in which it is conceived (Mair 2007:162).

*H2a: The CSO leaders in question have been affected by and involved in the hegemonic struggles going on in Turkey that impact the discourse on the EU and the EU integration process. In other words, the power consolidation struggles at the national level manifests themselves in their perceptions. The attitude of the EU towards those power struggles influences the Euroscepticism of CSO leaders from different camps.*

H2a is confirmed both from the perspectives of the anti-AKP and pro-AKP CSO leaders. The Euroscepticism of the opposition groups is largely constructed through the perceived misuse of the EU accession process by the AKP. This thesis showed the multiple discursive strategies through which this is realised, such as the construction of EU's support for the AKP and the topos of the misuse of the European integration. Hence the thesis shows that representations of the EU are basically influenced by the hegemonic struggles. The coercive and consent-based influence of the AKP in civil society also becomes a strong source of Euroscepticism. According to Gramsci, consent and coercion are two elements in which the hegemony of political society is reproduced within civil society. Gramsci's analysis of the relationship between the state and civil society is quite appropriate in Turkey because the borders between the state and civil society are not clearly defined (Dikici-Bilgin 2009). Gramsci's theorisation of civil society in his *Prison Notebooks* (1971) is intertwined with his concept of hegemony: he saw civil society as an integral part of the state, far from being antagonistic to the state, it is an invisible constitutive element even though the political society seems to be in the foreground. Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony is confirmed because Gramsci sees political society reaching into civil society, as is the case in Turkey. Such a theoretical standing has led to a focus on the role of European discourses that have been constituted and reshaped by hegemonic struggles.

*H2b: Political parties (Kurdish, Islamic-conservative, Kemalist) and CSOs follow a similar line of argumentation and have the same type of Euroscepticism because of ideological affiliations (ideological-political continuities) and the penetration of political parties into civil society. Thus, I expect strong interdiscursivity with the CHP opposition party by Kemalist and social democratic CSOs and by Islamic and conservative CSOs with the AKP regarding attitudes towards the EU and European integration.*

H2b is confirmed. Ottoman Empire's culture and civilisation is a dominant strategy of predication in conservative and Islamic civil society discourse. National self-glorification is implemented through a discourse that gives positive references to the Ottoman myths, Ottoman culture and Turkey's ambitions to be a regional power, and a strong interdiscursivity with the AKP is observable. Conservative and Islamic CSO leaders also refer to 2002 as marking the beginning of the AKP era that transformed Turkey into a strong country. A strong duality between the pre-AKP and post-AKP periods is constructed in order to strengthen the arguments. Accordingly, it needs to be underlined that often the beginning of the AKP era and the current situation are compared together in order to demonstrate how Turkey has become more powerful in economics and international politics. The referential strategy used here is Erdoğan's *éclat* in Davos. Hence, this event has a strong symbolic value in the eyes of Islamic and conservative civil society leaders and is one of the most important sources of overconfidence, which is interpreted as a sign of power.

The predication strategy of two different Turkeys of pre-AKP and post-AKP can be considered as a case of interdiscursivity with the statement of the government party. Discussions on the AKP often lead to repetitive conclusions of Turkey as economically powerful. The predication of two different Turkeys is employed together in constructing the success of the AKP and excludes the negative events that have happened during the AKP period. Hence, the governing AKP has a strong impulse in the civil society discourses of the conservative and Islamic camp. Moreover, it should be noted that an implicit Euroscepticism is present here that stresses that Europe does not want that Turkey became a strong country. Moreover, the way in which Turkey would contribute to the synergy of the EU is explained with the foreign policy choices of Turkey, which are not only dependent on Europe but also on good relations with the Arab countries. Both the discursive equivalence formulated between Ottoman Empire and the power image and its effect on the subconsciousness in Europe and the bifurcation of Turkey before and after the AKP era and suggest a strong interdiscursivity with

Erdoğan's political discourse. This excerpt exemplifies the use of "departicularisation", which refers to arbitrary selection of historical events in constructing historical narratives and in justifying the case in hand. Kemalists ignored for a long time: The regional role that Turkey is supposed to play is discussed at more length and with a referential strategy to Ottoman Empire and the founders of the empire. In a similar vein, Turkey is also constructed as a world power during the AKP era. This demonstrates once again the close interdiscursivity with neo-Ottomanism. The AKP attributes to the positively predicated Turkey a global/regional role within which it needs to assert itself over the EU and USA. Turkey is constructed in a certain manner regarding its role in the international system via references to the EU accession process. The excerpts conceptualise Turkey as a global or regional player, hence with a strong overconfidence topos. Borrowing largely from the main tenets of neo-Ottomanist discourse and Ahmet Davutoglu's strategic depth thesis, the topos of overconfidence is stabilised. This contributes to the positive self-representation of Turkey, where Europe is predicated as problematic. According to the conviction of a conservative CSO leader, Turkey has an empire background and involved in wars with European countries, from which result mistrust within the integration process. The general mechanism of the argumentation strategy by the conservative and Islamic leaders mainly follows a straight line, namely declining trust in the EU stems from the EU's perceived double standards and the following Euroscepticism combined with overconfidence that makes up the Eurocynic discourse. It has been shown how the topos of powerful Turkey and weak Europe is constructed. Hence, the discourses show a strong interdiscursivity with Erdoğan's stress on a powerful rather than democratic Turkey. There is also a case of explicit and implicit intertextuality to Ahmed Davudoglu's book *Strategic Depth*. EU membership is not considered as the only alternative. Following the same conceptual framework of the book, the EU is not regarded as the only alternative of Turkey. The interviews suggest that the interdiscursivity with the strategic depth thesis is only prevalent in the discourses of the respondents that are close to the AKP. What is perhaps more particular to the case in hand is the way in which there was no evidence mentioning Turkey's internal democracy deficits, which other discursive sites prominently mention. This can be considered as a case of interdiscursivity with the AKP leaders and especially Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the foreign minister Ahmet Davutoglu. The analysis suggests that this discursive sphere is quite dominant in the discourse of the pro-AKP CSO leaders and connected to other discursive nodal points in the AKP's foreign policy discourse. These extracts highlight the importance of Turkey in refuting the strategic depth thesis, with explicit intertextual references to the concept. Turkey is predicated as a model to the Muslim world, with its secular state and

its democracy, but its shortcomings are not acknowledged. The speakers invoke Turkey as a power in the interests of the EU for gaining international political weight. It shares codes with the strategic depth discourse at uses related concepts and images. On the other hand, over-confidence is a mere feeling without much to backup; over-confidence is often a result of over projecting one's past experiences and believing self to be the cause and reason for the result. It neglects the need for evidence, it is just a gut feel of one's abilities. Many times overconfidence results from over-estimating one's competencies and under estimating situations, environment and other people's competencies, as such over-confidence fosters arrogance (see Chandra 2012).

A core discourse running through these representations is that of the strategic depth thesis, either through explicit or implicit references. Although much less widespread than the strategic depth thesis, another case of interdiscursivity and intertextuality pertains to the criticism of the axis-shift thesis advocated by the Republican People's Party. In formulating these representations, discursive strategies of Euroscepticism are coupled to denote a stable, progressive and economically powerful Turkey and a Europe in economic crisis that needs Turkey. Ideological faultiness are discernable in these representations as the other group of CSO leaders' distrust towards the EU does not lead to Eurocynicism. The combination of overconfidence and Eurosceptic arguments are particularly visible in the conservative/Islamic discourse on the EU. Hence, the discourse analysis reveals two dominant representations that lead to this discourse topic: the representation of the EU as unstable, inefficient and economically weak in the context of the Eurozone crisis and an imagined powerful Turkey. The full corpus displays a strong intertextuality with the strategic depth thesis of the Foreign Minister Ahmed Davudoglu and with the so-called neo-Ottomanism of the AKP.

It should again be noted that a close interdiscursivity and intertextuality with Edward Said's theory of Orientalism is present, whereby Huntington's thesis of the clash of civilisations is rejected. Although "the cultural gap between conservatives, and the secularists is both vast and socially illuminating" (Akyol 2011:18), a strong interdiscursivity can be seen between the camps with regards to the criticism of Orientalism and the denial of clash of civilisation. Moreover, there is a strong interdiscursivity among the CSO leaders in terms of being against the image of a superior civilisation that is destined to rule other parts of the world, whether in overt political hegemony or through the more subtle forms of neoliberalism (compare Ernst 2007). The double standard discourse draws its strength in all discursive sites from the Cyprus case. Hence, there is a strong interdiscursivity between different groups with regards to the Cyprus issue. The attitude of the European Union regarding Cyprus has been evaluated as a

double (moral) standard, because the EU has accepted Cyprus as a member before the unification process of both nations was completed and before the process proposed by the UN based on the Kofi Annan Plan was completed.

*H3: Civil society leaders' perceptions are strongly influenced by their general West perceptions. Eurosceptic discourses are rooted in a broader cultural and ideological view of Europe as "the Other" both as an object of desire and frustration. Collective perceptions of Europe inherited from the Turkish nation-building processes and from the historical relationship between the EU and Turkey influence attitudes towards European integration, thus pre-existing perceptions of Europe have a strong influence on the construction of Euroscepticism.*

H3 has not been confirmed. It proposes that the two-sided view of the West and Europe dominate the discourse among all discursive settings, whereby in the Islamic discourse, there are tendencies to a more essentialist view based on religious and cultural differences converging them to value-based and cultural Euroscepticism. The analysis identifies two main representations of the West through which CSO leaders construct a discursive space. The first one is Europe as the locus of the modernity, human rights, liberal values and democracy based on the Enlightenment. The second representation entails the exploitative and colonialist Europe. Hence, images of Europe exist on a continuum, from colonialist or fascist at one end to the locus of democracy and freedom at the other. Accordingly, a major finding of this chapter is that the images and representations of the West and Europe are quite fluid in nature, with each ideological group having its own set of positive and negative images and representations that undergo changes in line with conflicting interests. Therefore, Europe has a dual image in Turkey: alongside negative images more positive images and representations were also strongly imprinted in the Turkish imagination. The analysis showed that there is not a directly negative effect observable on the European integration process on Turkey which stems from general attitudes towards the West and from historical fear except that Islamic and conservative respondents show partly a tendency towards cultural and value-based Euroscepticism (Leconte 2010).

Hence, Occidentalism takes a more nuanced form with reference to the merits and deficits of Europe and the West rather than being only one-dimensional interpretations of the concepts. The analysis identifies two main representations of the West through which CSO leaders construct a discursive space. One concerns the representation of the West as the locus

of modernity, human rights and democracy based on the Enlightenment. The second representation entails the exploitative and colonialist West that is stressed by the Islamic respondents with the referential strategy to the Al-Andalucía case and by other respondents mainly with the referential strategy to the colonial history of the West. Thus, constructions of Europe and the West are realised through the construction of a Europe on the basis of selected historical factors. The analysis also indicates that there is strong interdiscursivity among the CSO leaders in terms of their emphasis on Orientalism. The discourses overwhelmingly predicate Europe on the one side as a locus of modernity and civilisation and on the other side as a locus of colonialism and exploitation. It is only the Islamic discursive setting that a tendency to value-based and cultural Euroscepticism is visible and, in many statements, Europe is constructed as Islamophobic and a harsh critic of Islam. Nevertheless, even in the Islamic discourse, the essentialist view is relativised in stressing the heterogeneous character of the West and Europe and referring to its civilisational achievements. The respondents do not often engage in construction of clear-cut binary distinctions between the Europe and Turkey or West and East. Referential strategies attained through phrases such as the Other do not intend putting the West and East into binary oppositions. There is an openness to alternative narratives and they are not systematically denied in the discourse on Europe and the West, whereas the concepts of the West and the East are regarded as constructed and the Huntington's belief in the clash of civilizations is extensively criticised and denied. Even though the West is accused of Islamophobia and there is a tendency to value-based and cultural Euroscepticism in Islamic discourse, the respondents also mention the positive sides of Europe and West such as the economic welfare or developed human rights are accepted and appreciated by the Islamic respondents. Generally, it can be claimed that the dual perspective of the West still continues, even if the negative or critical statements have more weight in the Islamic discourse stemming from the Islamophobia of the West.

The discourse about Europe varies slightly among civil society leaders mainly according to their religious and ideological inclinations. However, there are commonalities and similarities in the discourses are present, especially in the topos of colonial and exploitative West and in the topos of liberal/democratic Europe and Europe as a location, where human rights are more developed. We observe a relativisation of the West and no essentialisation of the notion of civilisation as well as no consistent exclusion of alternative narratives of democratic, scientific, cultural progress in Europe/West.

The analysis reveals that in the respondents' discourses, Occidentalism does not refer to the definition used by Burma and Margalit as "the dehumanising picture of the West painted

by its enemies...” (Burma and Margalit 2005:5). In this discourse, this essentialist use of the term can easily be dismissed. Additionally, there is a strong inter-discursivity among the CSO leaders in terms of being against the image of a superior civilization that is destined to rule other parts of the world, whether in overt political hegemony or through the more subtle forms of neoliberalism. While we expect binary oppositions to enable clear meanings, definitions and attitudes, the West confuses respondents as it is not clearly identifiable and determined rather than unambiguously and relatively. Hence, it should be underlined that as for the implications of Euroscepticism; Kemalsit, social democratic, liberal, conservative, Islamic and Alevi CSO leaders do not use arguments based on strong anti-Western sentiments that may lead to hard Euroscepticism (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2002) or to Eurorejectionism (Kopecky and Mudde 2002).

In studying Euroscepticism, core ideas of strategy or ideology have often been used to ‘explain’ why things happen. However, once one is located in a specific instance it quickly becomes apparent that there are lots of other contextual factors at play. Accordingly, it can be questioned whether the same concepts and categories that we know from Euroscepticism in candidate and member states are applicable to the Turkish case. In particular, at a country level, there are specific political debates and touchstones. Hence, a relatively simple explanation of the need to expose the peculiarities of the Turkish case is necessary. In every country, there are certain lenses framing the local debate. We first need to discursively examine the particular political environment of a country and the power struggles within it, particularly in non-EU countries. Secondly, we need to understand the general perceptions of Europe and the West in order to understand the real driving forces behind Euroscepticism.

Besides enlarging the research field, this thesis contributes to the development of Euroscepticism research in suggesting that traditional categories and established theories of public and elite attitudes towards European integration fell short in explaining the Euroscepticism in non-EU countries. This leads to the conclusion that we should supplement the traditional categories and resolve contradictions by using a discursive approach. Accordingly, this thesis ensures an interpretative depth of categories in analysing various constructions of the EU, assuming that the EU is constructed in various ways in different contexts and the meaning of an articulation can never be controlled. While the notion of Europe is usually taken as a static concept in the Europeanisation literature, this thesis emphasises the changing and dynamic meaning of Europe by employing CDA. Moreover, I believe that the findings and the approach of the thesis can be integrated into the comparative scope of the literature in studying civil-society-based Euroscepticism in Eastern European countries.

Enlarging the geographical scope would contribute to the theoretical generalisability and development of the Euroscepticism literature. There are cultural, religious and political connections between Turkey and Eastern European countries. And while Turkey is in many ways a special case, studying civil-society-based Euroscepticism will provide useful points of comparison with other southern European countries.



## APPENDIX A

### LIST OF INTERVIEWS

1. Zeynep Meydanoglu, board member, (**KADER**) Association for the Support of Women Candidates, Istanbul, 20 January 2012. Code: K1
2. Hulusi Zeybek, board member, (**IHD**), Human Rights Association, Istanbul, 23 January 2012. Code: I1
3. Semra Ocak, Head of Istanbul Section, (**TMOBB CMO**), Chamber of Environmental Engineers, 24 January 2012. Code: Tc1
4. Hüseyin Demirdüzen (**TTB**), Turkish Medical Association, Istanbul, 30 January 2012. Code: T2
5. Ibrahim Altan (**DFD**), general secretary, Lighthouse Association, Istanbul, 6 February 2012. Code: D1
6. Aydın Cingi, president, (**SODEV**), Social Democracy Foundation, Istanbul, 7 February 2012. Code: S1
7. Musa Üzer, general secretary, (**ÖZGÜR-DER**), The Association for Free Thought and Educational Rights, 7 February 2012. Code: O1
8. Cüneyt Sariyasar, deputy president, head of Istanbul section; Mehmet Yasar Soyalan, board member, deputy head of Istanbul section (**MAZLUM-DER**), The Association of Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed Peoples, Istanbul, 9 February 2012. Code: M1
9. Aysel Celikel, former justice minister, president, (**CYDD**), Association for the Support of Modern Life, Istanbul, 14 February 2012. Code: C1
10. Neslihan Akbulut Arikal, president, (**AKDER**), Women's Rights Organization against Discrimination, Istanbul, 23 February 2012. Code: A1
11. Kivanc Eliacik, Head of International Relations Department (**DISK**), Revolutionary Labour Unions Confederation of Turkey, Istanbul, 24 February 2012. Code: Dk2
12. Dogan Bermek, President, (**AVF**), Federation of Alevi Foundations, Istanbul, 27 February 2012. Code: Af2
13. Basar Yalti, Board Member, (**IBB**), Istanbul Bar Association, Istanbul, 29 February 2012. Code: Iba1
14. Faruk Büyükkocak, President of Region 1 (**TURK-IS**), Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions, Istanbul, 9 March 2012. Code: Tu1
15. Cengiz Altintarik, President (**Erenler Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfi**), Erenler Foundation of Education and Culture, Istanbul, 13 March 2012. Code: Ev1
16. Adnan Demirel, President (**Federation of Roman Associations**), Istanbul, 14 March 2012. Code: R1
17. Mustafa Yesil, President, (**GYV**), the Journalists and Writers Foundation, Istanbul, 21 March 2012. Code: G1
18. Günay Kaya, General Secretary, **Memur-Sen**, Confederation of Public Servants Trade Unions, Ankara, 2 April 2012. Code: Me1
19. Ünsal Yıldız, President, **Eğitim-Sen**, Education Trade Union, Ankara, 6 April 2012. Code: Es1
20. Osman Yıldız, General Secretary, **Hak-Is**, Confederation of Turkish Just Workers' Union, Ankara, 6 April 2012. Code: H1
21. Nahit Töre, Board Member, **TISK**, Turkish Confederation of Employer Association, Ankara, 9 April 2012. Code: SK1
22. Necdet Sarac, Deputy President, **ABF**, Alevi-Bektasi Federation, Ankara, 10 April 2012. Code: Bf1
23. Baki Cinar, General Secretary, **KESK**, Confederation of Public Workers' Unions, Ankara, 10 April 2012. Code: Sk1
24. Fahrettin Yokus, General Secretary, **KAMU-SEN**, Turkish Public Workers Labor Union, Ankara, 10 April 2012. Code: Ka1
25. **TIHV**, Board member, (Turkish Human Rights Foundation), Ankara, 12 April 2012. Code: Tih1
26. **ADD**, Deputy President (Atatürk Thought Association, General Secretary, Ankara, 13 April 2012. Code: Ad1
27. President, (**Jewish Community**), Istanbul. 18 May 2012. Code: Jc1
28. Sema Özar , board member, **DISA**, Istanbul. 20 May 2012. Code: Da1
29. Cengiz Aktar, board member, **HDV**, Hrant Dink Vakfi, Hrant Dink Foundation. 21 May 2012. Code: Hv2
30. Undersecretary, **EU ministry**, Istanbul, 24 January 2012.

## APPENDIX B

### TOPIC GUIDE

#### A Topic Guide For Interviews with CSOs

Date of Interview (day month):

Time of the start of the interview:

Length of interview (in minutes):

Comments about the respondent's attitude, unusual circumstances, disruptions, etc:

#### General Instructions

I have some questions about your opinions regarding the EU, European integration and Europe in general. The information that you provide will be kept completely confidential and the final results of the research will not reveal the respondent's identity. Thank you very much for agreeing to answer these interview questions

#### 1. Support for the EU and European Integration/Euroscepticism

- Full membership: Generally speaking, do you think that Turkey's membership of the European Union will be?  
a good thing, a bad thing, neither good nor bad, don't know (Eurobarometer) (*Support of the EU as a whole*)
- Are you in favour or opposed to Turkey eventually joining the EU as a full member? strongly in favour, in favour, opposed, strongly opposed, don't know.  
Open question: Specifically, do you favour Turkey eventually joining the EU, and are you hopeful about this happening in the near future? (McLaren 2000)
- Full membership: advantages for Turkey. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Turkey will benefit or not from being a member of the European Union? Yes/No (Eurobarometer)
- Positive image of the EU. In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?
- When do you think Turkey could become a member of the EU?
- Confidence in the EU: Do you trust in the EU?  
Yes/No (*Eurobarometer*)  
Support of the EU
- What does the EU mean to you personally? Which words best describe the EU?

Democracy	Crisis
Comfort	Security
Cultural diversity	Culture
Human rights	Economic prosperity
Spirituality	Discipline
Moral decline	Peace.
Wealth	Freedom,
Violence	Civilization
Patriotism	Security

- Is the EU membership vital for Turkey? Why?
- What associations do the following words evoke for you?

Europe	Positive	Negative	Do not know
EU			
West			

- Can you tell me what your first thoughts were when you had to say something about the European Union. (The Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2001) (Positive categories, Negative categories, Neutral categories)
- National Sovereignty: Will EU membership have a negative impact on Turkish national sovereignty?  
Yes: Eurosceptic, No: non-Eurosceptic, no opinion /Category of Euroscepticism in Turkey (Yilmaz 2005, 2003).  
Pooling of Sovereignty: (*transition to a post-modern state*)  
A relocation of authority away from the individual nation-state to supranational institutions of the EU. Do you accept it?  
Sovereignty anxiety: weakening of national independence and sovereignty. Some people say that if Turkey does everything the EU asks her to do, the Turkish state will come to an end. Do you agree with this view?  
Would you feel disturbed if you saw the EU flag hanging next to the Turkish flag in front of schools, government buildings and the like?  
Would you feel disturbed if you heard the EU anthem being played along the Turkish national anthem on national holidays and the like?
- National identity/culture: Do you believe that Turkey will lose its national identity and culture by joining the EU?
- Recognition of multiple identities: (*transition to a post-modern state*) with a strong emphasis on the promotion of minority rights
- Negative discrimination: Does the EU treat Turkey with double standards and does it negatively discriminate against Turkey, particularly on religious grounds; (Yilmaz 2005,2003). Yes/No  
Some people say that EU has treated Turkey with double standards, by imposing on Turkey conditions that it has not imposed on the other candidate countries. Do you agree with this view? (completely agree, I somewhat agree, completely disagree, somewhat disagree, no/N.A.) (Yilmaz 2003)  
On the issue of Turkey's relations with the EU, which of the following opinions is closest to yours? The EU will not accept Turkey as a member, even if Turkey satisfies all the necessary conditions. The EU will accept Turkey as a member, if Turkey satisfies the necessary conditions  
Follow up question: Cyprus, Armenia Context Factors: What do you think about the demand of the EU to recognise the Armenian genocide? Do you think that EU reforms touched upon too many areas such as minorities and Cyprus? Do you think that the EU is right in saying that the Cyprus problem should be solved? Do you think that the insistence of the EU on the recognition of Armenian genocide is right?
- Reasons: What is the main reason that Turkey has not been admitted into the European Union? What can be done to solve this particular problem? (McLaren 2000) Are there any other important reasons that Turkey has not been admitted? What can be done to solve these problems?
- Some people say that membership in the EU will bring along an increase in the number and strength of ethnic separatist organisations in Turkey. Do you agree with this view?
- Some people say that EU membership will result in a division of Turkey along ethnic lines. Do you agree with this view?
- EU's regional policy implies the setting up of new levels of regional governance. Do you fear this taking away from national integrity and a possible weakening of the state? Empowering Kurds?
- Motives for opposing Turkish Membership:  
Turkey is unprepared and too weak to be an equal partner  
Loss of sovereignty  
General fear of second-class membership  
Threats to specific areas:  
Negative impact on agriculture  
Negative impact on economy, industry, trade with the EU  
Negative impact on employment

Negative impact on living standards

Other factors

Lack of information

Disapproval of accession negotiations

General lack of trust towards the EU

General uncertainty

- Benefits/Costs: What benefits and costs do you see arising from eventual full membership? (McLaren 2000)
- What will be the two most important costs of Turkey's accession to the EU? Weakening of religious values, weakening of the national identity, limitation of independence, weakening of the agricultural sector, the separatist tendencies gaining strength, weakening of Turkish firms, fundamentalist activities to gain strength, no cost, no idea.
- What are the basic reasons for your thinking that Turkey's membership of EU would not be beneficial? (Eurobarometer 69):  
EU Membership negatively affects peace and security in Turkey.  
EU membership would have negative impacts on economic development.  
The best way for the settlement of important disputes for the Turkish nation is handling the issues at the domestic level.  
Other.  
Not Interested
- Which current European Union member states do you think are against Turkey's full membership in the EU? Why are each of these states against Turkey's full membership? (McLaren 2000)
- Military: Do you agree with the political role of the military should be prevented? How do you interpret EU's role in this issue? Do you think that the power of Turkish military is a hindrance for Turkish accession to the EU?
- Positive things: What would be the best thing about Turkey being admitted to EU? Would there be any other positive things about Turkey being admitted?
- Negative things: What would be the worst thing about Turkey being admitted to the European Union? Would there be any other negative things about Turkey being admitted? (McLaren 2000)
- What would be the worst thing about Turkey being admitted to the European Union? Would there be any other negative things about Turkey being admitted? (McLaren 2000)
- Is political Islam a hindrance joining the EU?
- Is it possible for Turkey to take part in any union other than the EU? Should Turkey focus its foreign policy on Middle East or on Europe? (McLaren 2000)
- Do you think that you and the Islamists/Kemalists/Kurdish CSOs have similar attitudes towards the EU integration? (social antagonism)
- Which groups in Turkish society do you perceive as being opposed to Turkey's joining the EU as a full member? Why are these groups opposed to Turkey's membership in the EU? (McLaren 2000)
- Which political party do you expect would make it easier for Turkey to be admitted into the EU as a full member?
- Have you benefited from the European Integration Process: getting funds, projects, etc.?

## **2. Occidentalism: General Perceptions of Europe, Dualistic Attitude Towards Europe/West**

- Should we take the technology and civilisation of the West, but not its culture?
- Some people say Europe is an entity with homogenous values, others say Europe has many different cultures in it. Do you agree?
- Is there a deeper hostility towards the European politics, diplomacy, culture and economics?
- Does European integration entail a risk of degeneration, moral or cultural, of national societies?
- We Turks: In what sense are we different from Europeans?
- We have an imperial past and have fought wars against European countries. Does that create a sense of mistrust?

- Some people say Europe does not have a common past, nor is a history of Europe conceivable. Does Europe as a civilisation has a history independent from other cultures, be they Arabic, Turkish or Asian? (Historiographic Euroscepticism)
- In what senses is Turkey different from European countries?
- Europe has an important meaning in Turkey's nation-building process and considered as a model to imitate. Do you believe that Europe as a continent, civilisation, cultural or political entity constituted Turkish identity?
- Some people say that the EU is a Christian club with no place for a Muslim country like Turkey. Do you agree with this view?
- Separatism anxiety: The risk of the breakdown of national unity: Some people say that the European countries supported the PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party) and other ethnic separatist organisations in Turkey. Do you agree with this view?
- Moral anxiety: Erosion of traditional values: Some people say that closer relations with the EU will bring along a corruption of values in the following areas. Do you agree with this view? Corruption of the moral values of young people; corruption of religious values; corruption of linguistic values; corruption of family values; corruption of relations between neighbours and relatives.
- What is the cultural difference between Turkey and Europe? Is it an obstacle for Turkey's EU membership?
- Religious anxiety: Is the EU a Christian club? Some people say the EU has been founded on Christian values. Do you agree with this view?
- Do you believe that there is a West/East distinction? And Where does Turkey stand in this divide?
- What are the real reasons for Europe's interest in having the Turkey as a member?  
Europe is mainly interested in Turkey's geography as a way of natural resources.  
Europe is interested in using Turkey's cultural and intellectual potential.  
Europe is interested in economic partnership.  
Europe is interested in supporting democracy and market economy in Turkey.
- Is Europe superior to Turkey?
- Should we enter the EU as a cure for political, economic, cultural underdevelopment?
- Euroenthusiasm illustrates how national self-images have not only cognitive but also an emotional dimension (superiority/inferiority)
- To which cultural identity is Turkey closest?  
European cultural identity, Western, Euroasian, Islamic, Middle Eastern cultural identity.  
Some people say that Turkey has enough common values with the West to be part of the West.  
Other people say that Turkey has such different values that it is not really part of the West.  
Which view is closer to your own? (Transatlantic Trends 2011)
- What does Europe mean to you?
- Ideas about Turkey-European perceptions  
Turkey is most likely to be seen by European countries as:  
A place for profitable investments.  
An undeveloped, unpredictable country.  
A neighbour and partner with whom to strengthen and develop relations.  
A potential military adversary.  
A country from which unwanted migrants come to Europe.  
A great power with a rich cultural heritage.
- What does "West" mean to you?
- Sevres Syndrome-current fears: Are the European states trying to divide Turkey now? (Yılmaz 2005, 2003)
- Do you think if Europe or West is insincere and a threat? Some people say it is the reincarnation of Sevres Treaty, do you agree?
- Sevres Syndrome-historical memory: Did the European states try to divide Turkey in the past, and are they attempting to do the same thing now? (Yılmaz 2005, 2003)
- Moral Values: Will increasing relations with Europe have a negative impact on Turkish moral values? (Yılmaz 2005, 2003)

**3. Issue of Hegemony: Dominance of the government or opposition parties in the civil society?**

- Is civil society independent from the penetrations of the government/opposition party?
- What do you think about AKP's EU policy?
- Do you think that EU membership is the finalisation of the Kemalist modernisation project?
- Do you think that the CHP no longer supports EU membership because of the policies of the AKP? (Production of political frontiers and its effect on the perception of the EU)
- Has civil society become more powerful through European Integration?
- Do you agree with the view that the AKP utilises EU integration for its own purposes? (Social antagonism/Otherness)
- Do you agree with the view that Kurdish BDP utilises EU integration for its own purposes? (Enhancing Kurdish rights)

## APPENDIX C

### QUESTIONNAIRE

For the following statements, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, are undecided, disagree, or strongly disagree.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	NA
Turkey's being a Muslim country has prevented it from becoming a full member of the EU.	1	2	3	4	5	0
The political problems with Greece must be solved before Turkey is accepted as a full member of the EU.	1	2	3	4	5	0
The Kurdish issue must be settled before Turkey is accepted as a full member of the EU.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Turkey should be willing to change its domestic laws in order to become a full member of the EU.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Full membership in the European Union will bring Turkey economic benefits.	1	2	3	4	5	0
EU membership will decrease the influence of Islam in Turkish politics.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Small-scale business will suffer if it becomes a full EU member.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Turkey will not be able to conduct an independent policy in international issues as a full EU member.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Turkey's leverage in the Middle East will increase if Turkey becomes a full EU member.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Sovereignty cannot be pooled.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Further moves toward European integration will erode the power and influence of the Turkish Parliament.	1	2	3	4	5	0

The disadvantages of EU membership have been outweighed by the benefits.	1	2	3	4	5	0
The globalisation of economic activity makes European Union membership more, rather than less, necessary for Turkey. (Baker/Gabmle)	1	2	3	4	5	0
Turkey and Europe share a common culture and values.	1	2	3	4	5	0
There is a lot of prejudice against Turkey in Europe.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Turkey belongs to Europe by geography.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Turkey belongs to Europe by history.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Turkey's membership will improve Turkish democracy.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Turkey's membership will make human rights better protected in Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Turkey's membership will lead to the mutual understanding of European and Muslim values.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Turkey's EU membership will threaten Turkish traditional values and result in more moral problems in Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	0
The EU wants to control Turkey, and Turkey's EU membership means the end of Turkey's independence.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Turkey's EU membership will threaten its national identity.	1	2	3	4	5	0
The cultural and religious differences between Turkey and the EU are too big, so the EU does not really want to accept Turkey as a full member.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Conflict between European and Islamic civilization is unavoidable.	1	2	3	4	5	0



Nationalism is one of the main obstacles to Turkey's European integration.						
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Indicators of the Tanzimat Syndrome in Turkish Civil Society at the Elite Level: Attitudes Towards Basic Rights and Freedoms (Yılmaz 2006)

	Should never be restricted	Can be restricted in certain times and circumstances	NA/NO	Total
Equality before law				
Freedom of religion				
Freedom of communication				
Freedom from torture				
Freedom of expression				
Right to use one's mother language				

Indicators of the Tanzimat Syndrome-Expressed Conditionally (when national interest, public safety, social order is at stake) (Yılmaz 2006)

	Tend to agree	Tend not to agree	NA/no	Total
We should not tolerate those opinions that are opposed to the opinions of the majority.				
When newspapers publish news and articles that are opposed to the interests of the nation, they should be closed down.				
When the interests of the nation are under serious				

threat, human rights can be restricted.				
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Indicators of Sevres Syndrome: Beliefs on the Crusades, capitulations and the Sevres Treaty (Yılmaz 2006)

	Tend to agree	Tend not to agree	NA/no	total
We would have been better following national ways rather than Westernisation.				
Europeans have been trying to divide Turkey in the past and now.				
The spirit of the Crusaders shapes European policies towards Turkey.				
EU-related reforms are like the capitulations of the Ottoman times.				
EU-related reforms are like the terms of the Sevres Treaty of the WWI.				

We'd like to get some basic demographic information about you.

Gender

☐Female

☐Male

Age

☐ 18-24

☐ 25-34

☐ 35-44

☐ 45-54

☐ 55-64

☐ 65 and older

Education: What is your highest degree?

- oNo degree
- oCompleted primary school
- oCompleted secondary school
- oCompleted high school
- oReceived an associate 2-year degree
- oReceived undergraduate university degree
- oReceived master's degree
- oReceived PhD
- oOther

What is your monthly income in TLs?

- o0-2000 TL
- o2000-4000 TL
- o4000-6000 TL
- o6000-9000 TL
- o9000 and above TL

- Which identification suits you most?

Nationalist-Kemalism  
 Nationalist-Islam  
 Kemalist  
 Islamist  
 liberal  
 socialist  
 social democratic  
 other

- Generally speaking, how nationalistic do you feel?  
 (With one being not nationalistic at all and 10 being extremely)
- How would you place your views on the left-right scale? (with one being far left and 10 being far right)
- Generally speaking, how religious are you? (with one being not religious at all and 10 being very religious) rating 1-3, rating 4-7, rating 8-10.
- Which political party did you vote in the general elections?

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## CURRICULUM VITAE

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### Personal Information

Date of Birth	4. August 1983
Nationality	Turkey
Place of Birth	Istanbul
Marital Status	Single

### Education

2010-2013	<b>Ph.D. Studies, Political Science</b> , Department of Political Science, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zurich; Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Josette Baer Hill, Prof. Dr. Frank Schimmelfennig PhD Thesis: "Euroscepticism in Turkey: The Discursive Construction of Europe and European Integration" (magna cum laude)
2007-2009	<b>M.A, Political Science (Major)</b> , Department of Political Science, University of Berne <i>Minor</i> , Ecology (Die Interfakultäre Koordinationsstelle für Allgemeine Ökologie) <i>Master Thesis</i> : "Euroskeptizismus in der Türkei: Die Republikanische Volkspartei (CHP) und die Nationalistische Bewegungspartei (MHP) im Vergleich" (magna cum laude)
2002-2007	<b>B.A, Political Science and Public Administration</b> , Middle East Technical University, Ankara (High Honour) University Entrance Exam: above the 99 <sup>th</sup> percentile
2005-2006	<b>Political Science and International Relations</b> , University of Cologne (Erasmus Student)
1994-2002	Istanbul Erkek Lisesi ( <b>German International School Istanbul</b> ) The Secondary Education Institutions Entrance Exam: 94. out of 2,000,000 applicants

### Work Experience

### Practical or Academic

02/2014-06/2014	<b>Co-Lecturer, University of Zurich, Department of History</b> Seminar Course: : „Neo-Osmanismus? Die historische, ideologische und politische Orientierung der heutigen Türkei“	<b>Academic</b>
8/2013-1/2014	<b>Lecturer, University of Zurich, Department of Political Science</b> Undergraduate Course: "The Changing Dynamics of Turkey-EU Relations: New Opportunities and Challenges"	<b>Academic</b>
1/2013- 6/2013	<b>Advisor, Turkish Embassy Bern, Switzerland</b> Press department, German/French/English/Turkish translation, contact and meetings with Swiss correspondents regarding their questions about Turkish politics, judiciary system and news, translation of news in Swiss newspapers for the Embassy.	<b>Practical</b>
9/2012-	<b>Founder of Consultcan Swiss-Turkish Expert Networks <a href="http://www.consultcan.net">www.consultcan.net</a></b>	<b>Practical</b>

6/2012-9/2012	Consultcan is responsible for establishing high-quality social and professional networks between Turkey and Switzerland and making this network available to interested organisations and individuals.	<b>Practical</b>
6/2008-4/2011	<b>Traffic Circulation Counter -Urban Mobility Research</b> <b>Translator, Turkish Embassy Bern, Switzerland</b> Translator and Advisor, translating and commenting news in Swiss newspapers (NZZ, Tagesanzeiger, Basler Zeitung, Berner Zeitung, Le Temps) regarding Turkish politics, economy and culture.	<b>Practical</b>
9/2010-12/2010	<b>University of Zurich, Institute of Philosophy,</b> Teaching Assistant: Course: " <i>Introduction to Political Philosophy</i> "; by PD Dr. Josette Baer Hill (baerjose@gmail.com)	<b>Academic</b>
8/2010-10/2010	<b>University of Berne/World Trade Institute (WTO),</b> Research Assistant : " <i>Rethinking the Millennium Development Goals: Stakeholders' Perceptions and Strategic Choices</i> "	<b>Academic</b>
1/2009-9/2009	<b>University of Berne/ Interfakultäre Koordinationsstelle für Allgemeine Ökologie (IKAÖ)</b> Research Assistant: „ <i>Fremd, schön, bedrohlich? Der Expertendiskurs zu invasiven Arten in der Schweiz.</i> "	<b>Academic</b>
4/2005-12/2011	<b>Editor of the journal "İzinsiz Gösteri"</b> İzinsiz Gösteri is a Turkish based European Journal of Theory and Literature based on the idea of launching and sustaining scholarly journal, where articles of academics, writers and poets have been published. (e.g., Prof. Dr. Norman Cherry, Prof.Dr. Gerry Coulter) ( <a href="http://www.izinsizgosteri.net/new/">http://www.izinsizgosteri.net/new/</a> )	<b>Academic</b>
1/2007-12/2011	<b>YOYO Balance your life Zurich, Fitness Connection Uster, Om Yoga Istanbul</b> Yoga Teacher	<b>Practical</b>

#### Media Relations (Newspaper Articles, Commentaries and Interviews)

11/06/2013	Commentaries on recent protests in Turkey, <b>Discussion at "SRF Club"</b> ( <a href="http://www.srf.ch/sendungen/club/tuerkei-in-aufruhr">http://www.srf.ch/sendungen/club/tuerkei-in-aufruhr</a> )
07/06/2013	<b>Interview with Tagesanzeiger</b> "Wenn Erdogan seine Rhetorik nicht ändert, eskaliert es"
09/06/2013	<b>Interview with Swissinfo</b> , „Türkei in Bewegung, Alle meine Freunde vom Gymnasium..."
14/06/2013	<b>Radio Interview with SRF1, SRF2</b> "Echo der Zeit"
12/06/2013	<b>Basler Zeitung, Tagesanzeiger/Newsnet</b> , „Eingriffe der Regierung werden als Farce betrachtet"
16/06/2013	<b>Major Contribution to an Article in Tagesanzeiger:</b> „Ein Krieg, in dem nur eine Seiten Waffen hat"
13/06/2013	<b>Contribution, Türkei Proteste, info8.ch.</b>
11/06/2013	Uprising: Turks in Switzerland divided over protests, <b>The Muslim Times.</b>

#### Publications

2/2013	Can Büyükbay: AKP Döneminde Türkiye: "Gesellschaft" Yanılsaması, "Gemeinschaft" Gerçeği, (Turkey under the AKP Rule: Illusion of "Gesellschaft", Truth of "Gemeinschaft") ( <b>Journal of Social Democracy</b> ) 2013, Issue: 25/26.
11/2012	Türkiye`nin Suriye Krizindeki Tutumu Üzerine Avrupa`dan Algılamalar, Sosyal Demokrat Dergi, ( <b>Journal of Social Democracy</b> ), November 2012, Issue: 23.
06/2013	Erdogan Söylemini Degistirmezse Catisma Büyür, in <b>Translate for Justice</b> ( <a href="http://translateforjustice.wordpress.com/tag/tagesanzeiger">http://translateforjustice.wordpress.com/tag/tagesanzeiger</a> )
12/2012	The European Perception of Turkey in the Syria Crisis, <b>Reflections Turkey</b> , December, Issue: 5, 21-26.
10/2012	AKP's Tactical Moves and the Need for the EU To Be Aware, <b>Reflections Turkey</b> , October, Issue: 4, 18- 22.
7/2012	Limited Autonomy of the Civil Society and the Misuse of the EU Accession Process, Vol. I, Issue 5, 6-10, July 2012, Centre for Policy Analysis and Research on Turkey (ResearchTurkey), London, <b>ResearchTurkey.</b> ( <a href="http://researchturkey.org/?p=1528">http://researchturkey.org/?p=1528</a> )

4/2012	The Misuse of the EU Accession Process and Civil Society, <b>Reflections Turkey</b> , April 2012, Issue: 1, 22-23.
8/2011	Patterns of Party-Based Euroscepticism in Turkey. <b>International Review of Turkish Studies</b> . Vol.1/2, Summer 2011, 78-114.
6/2011	Gründe und Ausformungen des Euroskeptizismus bei der Republikanischen Volkspartei (CHP) und bei der Nationalistischen Bewegungspartei (MHP), <b>European Journal of Turkish Studies</b> , 2011. Available at: <a href="http://ejts.revues.org/index4370.html">http://ejts.revues.org/index4370.html</a>
10/2010	Causes and Types of Euroscepticism by the Republican People's Party (CHP) and Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) of Turkey, <b>Changing Turkey</b> [online]. Online since 11 October 2010.
1/2010	Euroskeptizismus in der Türkei: Die Republikanische Volkspartei (CHP) und die Nationalistische Bewegungspartei (MHP) im Vergleich. Saarbrücken: <b>VDM Verlag</b> Dr. Müller: 2010.
2/2011	Siyaset Söylemlerinde Kullanılan Satranc Metaforları Üzerine.(The Chess Metaphor in Political Discourse). <b>İzinsiz Gösteri</b> Internet Journal. No: 233. January-February 2011. <a href="http://www.izinsizgosteri.net/new/?issue=63&amp;page=1&amp;content=537">http://www.izinsizgosteri.net/new/?issue=63&amp;page=1&amp;content=537</a>
2/2009	İlisu-Staudammprojekt: Negative Auswirkungen und die Rolle der NGOs. <b>İzinsiz Gösteri</b> Internet Journal. No: 193. Februar- März 2009.
1/2009	Manu Chao and Criticism of Economic Globalization. <b>İzinsiz Gösteri</b> Internet Journal. No: 191. Dezember- Januar 2009. Available at: <a href="http://www.izinsizgosteri.net/new/?writer=89">http://www.izinsizgosteri.net/new/?writer=89</a>
1/2008	Die Zusammenwirkung des Wahl- und Parteiensystems in der Türkei. <b>İzinsiz Gösteri</b> Internet Journal. No: 167. Februar-März 2008.

### Scholarships

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2012-2013	University of Zurich
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### Conferences

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2/5/2012	Bringing Gramsci back in: Euroscepticism in Turkish Civil Society. Second Workshop on Europeanization Research and Turkey: Different Facades, Multiple Contributions. By Süleyman Demirel University. Gradaute School of Social Sciences. Isparta.
5/4/2012	Euroscepticism in Turkey and Bosnia, 62 <sup>nd</sup> Political Studies Association Annual International Conference. In Defence of Politics, Europe Hotel Belfast.
22/3/2014	Comparing Euroscepticism in Turkey and Bosnia, a Europe of Diversities, Nineteenth International Conference of Europeanists, Council for European Studies. Boston.
21/6/2013	Understanding Euroscepticism in Turkey" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies 44th Annual Convention, New Orleans Marriott, New Orleans, LA. 2013-06-21.
18/11/2011	Second- Generation Europeanisation Research and Beyond: Power, Resistance and Identity in Turkish Domestic Politics, Centre for European Studies, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.
13/05/2011	Patterns of Party-based Euroscepticism in Turkey, Paper presented at the Koc University Jean Monnet Chair 2 <sup>nd</sup> Graduate Workshop. Europeanization: EU and Beyond. Istanbul.
9/5/2011	Eine typologische Untersuchung des parteibasierten Euroskeptizismus in der Türkei. Poster/Paper presented in Networking Day für Qualitativ Sozialforschende. Department of Sociology. University of Zurich.
5/5/2011	Elite-Level Euroscepticism in Turkish Civil Society, paper presented at the Center for Comparative and International Studies, University of Zurich/ ETH Zurich, Zurich.
3/2/2011	Comparing Party-based Euroscepticism in Turkey, Paper presented at the conference entitled "Faraway, So Close? Reaching beyond the Pro/Contra Controversy on Turkey's EU accession". Organized by Freie Universität Berlin and Sabanci University, Berlin.
31/3/2004	Political Psychology, Political Science Students Conference, Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

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## Language Skills

Turkish	Mother tongue
German	Advanced (Deutsches Sprachdiplom; DSH Diplom)
Englisch	Advanced (TOEFL)
French	Intermediate: (TCF B2)
Spanish	Beginner

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## Computer Skills

Microsoft Office	(Word, Excel, Power Point, Outlook)
SPSS, Strata, Atlas.Ti	(Software Tools for Qualitative and Quantitative Research)
Latex	

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## Memberships

2012	International Political Science Association (IPSA)
2011	Collaborative Research Network (CRN) on Euroscepticism, supported by the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES)
2011	Swiss Political Science Association
2009	International Yoga Federation

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## Interests

Chess (licenced):	Many awards in chess tournaments in Turkey. 3. rank at University of Berne, qualification for university finals organised by Idee Suisse des Echecs in December 2007.
Yoga	Sivananda Yoga Teacher, International Yoga Federation Teacher, Private Yoga Teacher ( <a href="http://www.yogacan.net">www.yogacan.net</a> )
Tennis, Tango Argentine	

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